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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Arms Control & Disarmament

Commander Comments on Control of Nuclear Weapons

LD2411162191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0100 GMT 24 Nov 91

[Commentary by station military observer Commander Aleksandr Yakovlev—read by announcer]

[Text] Western mass media regularly reports about the Soviet nuclear weapons supposedly divided by the Soviet sovereign republics. Our military observer, Commander Aleksandr Yakovlev, has this to say.

I believe such supposition may take place but only as a variant for the worst development of the situation. Indeed the main thing is not to allow dividing nuclear weapons among the republics. So far there are no grounds to speak about their really going from under a single control. First, it is worth remembering the decision of the Soviet State Council session held on 14 November, where the leaders of most republics took part. The session confirmed the intention to preserve the system of collective security with the single Armed Forces remaining intact, and the nuclear weapons, too.

The fact that the nuclear weapons are deployed on the territory of this or that republic does not ensure it the right to possess these weapons. These were created by All-Union republics. The nuclear weapons in the country are a component part of the single system, involving the missile attack warning systems, the control over the outer space, and anti-missile defense. Like the missiles, these components are situated in different republics but can be nationalized. Besides, neither republic is able to bear the burden of possessing nuclear weapons by itself. This involves the production and keeping in combat readiness of delivery means and nuclear warheads.

Supposedly the nuclear weapons could be taken by force but I am sure the attempt would be curbed thanks to the strict control and additional measures to be taken following the State Council session. This is the view of the Soviet Defense Ministry, voiced by General Valeriy Mamelov, chief of the ministry's Information Department. He says our stand is invariably firm; we are in favor of not only the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, we are for the effective mechanism ensuring their non-proliferation.

The presidential decree about strategic deterrence force will undoubtedly ensure the political stability despite the political ambitions of the leaders of sovereign states. This force should involve all Soviet strategic weapons. As to the shorter-range nuclear missiles, the Soviet Union and the United States have decided to unilaterally scrap most parts of the arsenal.

Republics To Join U.S. Disarmament Talks

LD2311021291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2137 GMT 23 Nov 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] INTERFAX reports that it has been officially confirmed that Russia, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belorussia have agreed to be part of the Soviet delegation for the talks beginning in Washington on 25 November—talks for implementing the Bush and Gorbachev initiatives on nuclear disarmament. And today similar problems were under discussion in Moscow, at a meeting between representatives of eight republics and NATO experts.

[Correspondent M. Aleksandridi] The exchange of views on shaping a system of collective security conducted by those participating in the consultative meeting showed that as yet there are more questions than answers. Even so, the experts believe that a significant breakthrough in the disarmament field together with changes in NATO strategy in its attitude to Eastern Europe and the USSR have created important prerequisites for advances to be made. The quest by the sovereign republics and the Baltic states for new forms of bilateral activity with NATO structures is being pursued more actively, and prospects for forming a renewed system of collective security within the framework of the renewed Union are being analyzed.

German Colonel (?Klaus Wittman) believes that noticeable changes have occurred over recent years in NATO's approaches to defense and security problems. This derives from the abandonment of cold war stereotypes.... [report ends abruptly]

Ukrainian Offical Remarks on Disarmament Issue

LD2411015191 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] The Ukraine has officially confirmed its readiness to closely cooperate with the UN Secretariat in organizing and holding various measures in accordance with the world disarmament campaign. Viktor Batyuk, our republic's representative, made this statement at the UN conference [words indistinct]. He said that the Ukrainian Government would give 300,000 rubles to a centralized fund of the disarmament campaign. Viktor Batyuk (?also confirmed) that the Ukraine remains true to its initiative to hold on its territory next year an international seminar on issues of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. This corresponds to its firm desire to see its territory a completely nuclear-free zone in the future.

Arms Initiatives Consultative Meeting Discussed

PM2211144591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 91 Union Edition p 4

[G. Charodeyev report: "How Many Nuclear Powers in USSR"]

[Text] An informational consultative meeting has been held at the USSR Foreign Ministry (the State Council is suggesting a new name—the Ministry of External Relations—Editorial Office) on the initiative of the U.S. side, devoted to the progress made in implementing the nuclear disarmament initiatives submitted by Presidents Bush and Gorbachev. IZVESTIYA's correspondent asked the Information Administration to comment on this event.

"The meeting was cochaired by A. Obukhov, deputy foreign minister, and L. Sell [name as transliterated], minister counselor for political issues at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow," the Foreign Ministry spokesman said. "Representatives of Belarus [Belorussia], Kazakhstan, Russia, and the Ukraine also took part in it. The meeting's participants were unanimous that the top-priority task now is to ensure the speediest ratification of the CFE and strategic offensive arms treaties and to begin working on more radical, far-reaching steps to cut military potential. It was stressed that the approach envisaging a combination of parallel unilateral actions and coordinated measures is promising. The representatives of the sovereign republics stated their support for the policy of stepping up the pace of disarmament."

U.S. representatives stressed that the U.S. leadership and society attach exceptional importance to the preservation of coordination and unity in the sovereign republics' approaches to questions of defense development and disarmament talks. A high-ranking U.S. diplomat said that the United States proceeds from the premise that "only one nuclear power" will exist in the future on the territory of what was the USSR.

Then the Foreign Ministry spokesman said that a number of practical issues were discussed at the meeting in connection with the preparations for the next round of consultations involving the U.S. State Department, the USSR Foreign Ministry, and the sovereign republics' foreign ministries on implementing the nuclear disarmament initiatives. The consultations will be held in Washington 25-27 November.

Control of 'Nuclear Briefcases' Detailed

LD2311210891 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1747 GMT 23 Nov 91

["Military News: Missiles and Strategic Aircraft are Under Control by General Kobets"—POSTFACTUM headline]

[Text] [no dateline as received]—According to unofficial sources, close to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, General Kobets controls only the second stage of use of strategic nuclear weapons but not what is called nuclear briefcase (a number of first basic commands for direct use of nuclear weapons). Till the August events, the nuclear strategic arms were under full control of the USSR president, the minister of defense and the general staff chief. General Kobets, responsible for Russia's defense, assumed control over the commands after the August events. Over 80 percent of the USSR strategic weapons are located in the RSFSR territory. At present, USSR Minister of Defense Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov has no access to the nuclear briefcase.

Consequently, 2 of the 3 nuclear briefcases are under control of the USSR president and the USSR General Staff chief.

Nonnuclear ABM Threat to Strategic Stability

PM2211165491 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Nov 91 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Lieutenant General F. Ladygin, chief of the Treaty and Legal Directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA—place and date not given: "In the Interests of Strategic Stability"—first paragrah is introduction]

[Text] Lieutenant General F. Ladygin, chief of the Treaty and Legal Directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, answers KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's questions about proposals to establish a nonnuclear ABM defense system.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] The recent reciprocal initiatives put forward by the U.S. and USSR presidents on measures regarding nuclear and other weapons are a major new step on the road to arms reduction and limitation. George Bush's initiatives include a call for the establishment of nonnuclear ABM defense systems. Both in our country and abroad this idea has found opponents and also supporters who are fighting to implement it and bring about bilateral cooperation in this area. In your view, how justified is such an optimistic approach to the proposal put forward by the U.S. side?

[Ladygin] In his speech on 27 September, President Bush did indeed urge that immediate concrete steps be taken to make possible the limited deployment [razvertyvaniye] of nonnuclear means of defense against limited missile strikes, wherever they come from, without undermining the awesomeness of existing deterrent forces. And M.S. Gorbachev's statement of 5 October expressed a readiness to discuss the U.S. proposal on nonnuclear ABM defense systems.

This is a considered approach that is neither negative nor an unconditional acceptance of the U.S. side's initiative. The fact is that the question of ABM defense systems is a key one in the modern concept of strategic stability. It calls for thorough analysis both of the prerequisites and, most important, of the possible consequences that the development [sozdaniye] and deployment of such systems could lead to.

Let me remind you that, as the foreign press has reported, the nonnuclear ABM system being proposed by the United States, called "Global Protection Against Limited Strikes" (GPALS), is to be a two-tier system: ground- and space-based.

The ground-based element includes two basic components: a strategic element, designed to protect U.S. territory from a limited strike by strategic ballistic missiles, and a tactical element, to shield U.S. and allied forces in any theater of military actions from strikes by operational-tactical and tactical missiles. The strategic component is to have around 750 ground-based fixed long-range ABM interceptor missiles [protivorakety], and also mobile radar units. The tactical component is to include short-range ABM interceptor missiles and mobile radar units.

The space-based tier of the nonnuclear ABM defense is designed to incorporate systems with a multipurpose function: Around 1,000 space-based ABM interceptor missiles and orbital facilities for tracking the warheads of ballistic missiles and providing target designations, including designations for the ground-based ABM interceptor missiles.

It is thought that this limited ABM system is capable of intercepting around 200 warheads in the event of a missile strike against U.S. territory.

Let me note at once from the treaty and legal point of view that systems for combating tactical and operational-tactical ballistic missiles are currently subject to no limitations. Both sides are entitled to make their own decisions about developing, testing, and deploying these weapons.

However, regarding systems for combating strategic ballistic missiles, these are subject to the limitations set by the Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty of 1972. The strategic component of the ground-based tier, like the space tier of the ABM system option that is being proposed, falls outside the bounds of this treaty's key limitations. The implementation in the United States of the ABM option being put forward by the press would mean the annulment of the foundation on which the limitations of the 1972 treaty are based, which would be tantamount to doing away with it.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] But in today's conditions is it necessary to hang onto this treaty? Are we not putting artificial barriers on the road to what some people in the West are calling the "inevitable" development of ABM technology?

[Ladygin] The need to hang onto the 1972 ABM Treaty is predetermined by the objectively existing organic interconnection between strategic offensive and defensive weapons. This fundamental provision was acknowledged by the Soviet and U.S. sides back during the SALT-1 talks and was enshrined in the ABM Treaty itself.

Limiting ABM defense systems is not an end in itself but one of the fundamental bases of the disarmament process. By signing the unlimited-duration ABM Treaty, the USSR and the United States acknowledged that a voluntary refusal to possess ABM systems for defending their countries' territory is a most important condition for stopping the strategic arms race, reducing the danger of nuclear war breaking out, and maintaining strategic stability. Let us look at what these conclusions were based on.

Both sides agreed that if one of them deployed an ABM system for defending its country's territory, it would thereby seriously alter the balance of strategic offensive weapons potential in its own favor. This would compel the other side to take measures to restore the disrupted strategic balance—either by means of a corresponding buildup in its own strategic offensive weapons, or by deploying its own ABM defense system, or by combining both these options. That is to say it would essentially provoke a further arms race.

Moreover, it was borne in mind that the deployment of a large-scale ABM defense system could engender in the side that implemented this deployment a feeling of invulnerability and the illusion of being able to launch a first strike with impunity. However, on the other side this situation would engender a feeling of suspicion and of being unprotected with all the consequences for strategic stability that this would entail.

These considerations have not become obsolete even in today's conditions, when relations of cooperation and partnership are being established between states. Nor have they grown obsolete in the longer term. I shall cite on this score an extract from President Bush's latest annual "National Security Strategy" report to the U.S. Congress. Bush noted in this report that elements of Soviet-U.S. relations will continue to be competitive in character. And the threat of a return to confrontation will always remain.

With all the changes taking place in the world it is impossible to disregard the fact that all the nuclear powers, including the United States, are essentially continuing to adhere to the doctrine of nuclear deterrence and are maintaining their strategic potential at a sufficiently high level. Therefore even today the basic guarantee of strategic stability is first and foremost the balance of strategic forces. Nor can these fundamental provisions be changed by the emergence of new technologies in the future.

Consequently even now the ABM Treaty, which has stood the test of time, is still one of the most important elements of the entire system of agreements relating to arms limitation and reduction. Strategic equilibrium and stability and the sides' certainty that these can be maintained could and should be ensured not at the price of enormous expenditure of material and intellectual resources on the development and deployment of new and extremely complex weapons systems, which is what large-scale ABM defense systems are, but by simpler and reliably verifiable means—through the establishment of a carefully regulated strategic balance of forces at the lowest possible levels of strategic offensive weapons.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] But Fedor Ivanovich, does everything you have said hold true for the system of ABM defense against a limited missile strike which is proposed by the U.S. side?

[Ladygin] Analysis shows that it does hold true. First, the ABM defense system we are referring to is being developed as a system of ABM defense of the country's territory, although it may not be very watertight [plotnyy]. The aforementioned scale of deployment of the GPALS system, with 750 ground-based fixed ABM interceptor missiles, is 7.5 times in excess of the corresponding limitations set by the 1974 protocol to the ABM Treaty, and the intention could be to site them in six or seven deployment areas located right across the United States. This fact alone makes the present system significant from the point of view of affecting strategic stability.

Second, the deployment of the limited ABM defense system proposed by the U.S. side "without undermining the awesomeness of existing deterrent forces" would mean setting a fixed ceiling below which strategic offensive weapons could not be reduced, and this would be an insurmountable obstacle on the road to further nuclear arms reduction.

Third, the use of space-based ABM components in the GPALS structure overturns one of the fundamental limitations set by the ABM Treaty and would mean the start of weapons deployment in space, thus turning it into a new theater of war. The placing of weapons in space, even on a bilateral basis, would also be an additional factor destabilizing the strategic situation because objective prerequisites would emerge that could encourage the temptation to launch a preemptive strike in certain conditions against the other side's space ABM systems.

Furthermore, if the deployment of systems by the United States and the Soviet Union were to take place, the strategic potential of other nuclear states would be lessened, which could prompt them to step up their own systems. The deployment of ABM systems outside the framework of the limitations set by the 1972 treaty therefore ceases to be the business of two states alone. This was stated bluntly by the French representative at the Third UN General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament: "Any legal frameworks that could be used for future military actions in space cannot remain a matter of indifference to all states collectively."

And finally, a GPALS system within the parameters being proposed by the U.S. side has all the key elements for refining the concept of a watertight ABM defense for the country's territory and forms the necessary basis for a possible subsequent and rapid upgrading of the system to the scale of one that provides ABM defense against a massive missile strike. In this context the present system can only be regarded as a first step on the road to deploying a large-scale ABM system for defending the country's territory. By acquiring the momentum of irreversible development, this could speed up the total rejection of the ABM treaty.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] So how then can we protect ourselves against possible accidental or unsanctioned launches, or from the threat posed by third countries? After all, it is no secret that more and more states are acquiring missiles.

[Ladygin] The Agreement on Measures To Reduce the Risk of Outbreak of Nuclear War was concluded between the United States and the USSR in 1971. Under the agreement each side pledged to improve its organizational and technical measures in order to avert any accidental or unsanctioned use of nuclear weapons under their control. This agreement is still in effect and there is no reason to doubt the effectiveness of the measures taken by the sides.

Moreover, the radical cuts in nuclear arsenals are an effective way of reducing this risk. We are proposing to move in precisely this direction, since we are convinced that it is impossible to enhance security by devaluing weapons in certain areas while engaging in an arms race in others.

As for the threat posed by third countries, we are convinced that this problem can and must be resolved by setting up a reliable nonproliferation regime for combat missiles and missile technology. The participants in such a regime might be states with the corresponding technologies and countries which have not acquired them. And the latter should have an opportunity to avail themselves of missile technology, but exclusively for national economic and scientific purposes.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] In that case, what are we to make of the Soviet side's expression of readiness to discuss the U.S. proposal on nonnuclear ABM defense systems?

[Ladygin] I would like to draw attention to that part of M.S. Gorbachev's 5 October statement which contained a proposal to the United States to embark on talks on the further radical reduction of strategic offensive weapons by approximately 50 percent immediately after the Strategic Offensive Weapons [START] Treaty is ratified.

This proposal wholly corresponds with the joint statement signed by the Soviet and U.S. presidents 1 July 1990 regarding future talks on nuclear and space weapons and the further strengthening of strategic stability. During these talks, the statement stressed, the sides will discuss questions of interest to them, including the relationship between strategic offensive and defensive weapons, taking into account the stabilizing START cuts and the development [sozdaniye] of new technologies. Within the framework of these discussions a corresponding place will also be found for the question of ABM defense, as being inextricably linked with the other facts affecting strategic stability.

Economic Aspects of START Treaty Viewed

PM2211135591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

[G. Khromov article: "So What Should Be Expected? Economic Aspects of Implementing START Treaty"]

[Text] As expected, very soon the U.S. Administration will ask Congress to agree to ratify the Soviet-American Treaty on Reducing and Limiting Strategic Offensive Weapons (START). In the not too distant future obviously our legislators will also begin examining this treaty.

Above all, realizing the START Treaty should ensure a lessening of the danger of nuclear war and the consolidation of strategic stability. At the same time, its realization should ultimately lead to a reduction of the military expenditure burden lying on the shoulders of our countries' peoples.

However, the following question is also of some interest: Are the treaty's benefits something that will be received not just in the remote future—in the long-term so to speak—but right here and now, and is it possible to bank on the fact that these benefits will be substantial?

Let us say immediately that the answer to this question has undoubtedly to be positive. Even though actual benefits will be significantly slighter than many people suggest.

First, USSR and U.S. strategic nuclear forces in themselves, as the most threatening part of each of our countries' military potential, require the expenditure of a relatively small portion of the military budgets—far smaller, for example, than expenditure on land forces and their arms. For example, the portion of the U.S. military budget allocated to expenditure on strategic nuclear forces does not exceed 15-20 percent of the overall sum.

Second, it is known that the START Treaty reductions (not counting the U.S. and USSR Presidents' recent reciprocal initiatives) are not so enormous—in terms of the number of delivery systems, the cuts will represent 30-35 percent.

Third, cuts will be implemented over a relatively long, seven-year period—that is, annual reductions will not exceed an average of 6 percent of today's existing potential.

In addition, it is worth considering that both countries have already received "economic returns" from the START Treaty to a certain extent. At first glance, this thesis is strange: The treaty does not yet exist (it has only been signed, but it has not yet been ratified and consequently it is not legally valid), so it would seem to be pointless to talk about any kind of dividends gained from it. But actually this is not so.

The fact is that talks on START reductions in the format which led to the treaty's being signed 31 July 1991 in Moscow began back in March 1985. In the course of these talks, many key elements of the upcoming reductions were preordained by the USSR and U.S. leaders during their meetings in Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, Moscow, and Malta. Accordingly, in the past three to five years, military construction plans in both countries have included the anticipated arms reductions both in respect of category and quantity.

The U.S. Congress Budget Office, for example, confirms this. Recently it noted that the upcoming START reductions "do not guarantee a large additional saving in monetary resources" as the administration took prior account in its plans of almost all of the cuts ultimately stipulated by the treaty. U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney said on the eve of the summer 1991 Moscow summit meeting that the treaty—still only in the preparatory stage—already permitted building plans for atomic submarines for Trident-2 missiles to be limited to 18 items, instead of the originally planned 23-24, and the number of B-2 bombers to be limited to 75 items instead of the previously anticipated 132. In other words, American military building plans were corrected well in advance and in such a way that the START Treaty's realization would basically eradicate only old weapons which were morally and physically obsolete.

It is natural to suppose that the Soviet Union acts in the same way. For example, agreement reached some years ago (and now reinforced) to halve Soviet heavy RS-20 (SS-18) ICBM's—by 154 to 308—enabled us to invest money modernizing just some of the missiles.

Nor can one ignore the fact that anticipated financial savings from START cuts (fewer operational expenses, cuts in the number of troops, the transfer to the national economy of land and property, and so on) will to a significant degree be "eaten up"—over the next few years, at any rate—by expenses linked with realizing the treaty's provisions: organizing inspection activities, creating a special monitoring mechanism, destroying arms. At the moment, these processes have not been thoroughly thought through, and the estimations of such expenditure must be viewed purely as preliminary figures. Nevertheless, the U.S. Congress Budget Office believes that at least that $300 million per year will be required for these needs. Obviously, our expenses should be assessed as no less substantial.

It should be noted that recent reciprocal initiatives by the United States and the USSR in the sphere of nuclear arms limitation had practically no effect on the estimates quoted. At the same time, if the U.S. President's proposal on ABM's is accepted (so far we are saying only that we are prepared to discuss this), then it would be absolute nonsense to count on economic dividends from strategic arms reductions.

But are there ways of strengthening the treaty's "economic effectiveness?" Yes. In particular, it could be increased via the rational deployment of those weapons or their elements which are being withdrawn for purposes which do not contradict the treaty's aims. The legally formulated provisions in the treaty's text do make it possible to do this.

One of the most expensive elements of strategic arms consists of the fissionable materials contained in their nuclear charges. They are a kind of "gold reserve" which will be released as strategigc offensive arms are reduced. American specialists estimate that there are enough fissionable materials contained in 25-35 nuclear charges (depending on the type of warhead) to operate an atomic power station with the capacity to produce 1 million kw of electricity for a whole year. However, it seems that tapping this "gold reserve" is not so easy.

The fact is that nuclear charges use highly-enriched (weapons-grade) uranium, with a degree of enrichment exceeding 90 percent, while an electric power station's atomic reactors use a slightly enriched uranium with a degree of enrichment of 3 to 5 percent. To obtain the kind of nuclear fuel which could supply a nuclear electric power station [AES] it is necessary to create special production capacities to blend the highly-enriched uranium with natural or impoverished [obednenniy] uranium and to manufacture nuclear fuel elements. In general, using weapons-grade plutonium to obtain electric power is still problematic, as so far no economically viable power installations have been set up. Proceeding from today's lack of such capacities, the Americans are putting the emphasis on storing nuclear materials from the warheads of arms being withdrawn. In other words, the question of using for peaceful purposes the materials retrieved from these nuclear warheads is being postponed for some years at least.

There are other ways. Part of the mighty Soviet ICBM's under the START cuts could be used to send payloads into space, including foreign payloads on a commercial basis. Moreover, thanks to the low cost of the delivery vehicle, benefits here would be appreciable for any country wishing to launch an artificial satellite from Earth, as well as for us.

However, the realization of such an approach is hindered by notorious COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] rules, and the United States remains an advocate of their preservation. In line with these rules, practically all foreign countries at present are deprived of opportunities to launch their satellites with the aid of Soviet rockets.

In fact, the situation is paradoxical. On the one hand, the USSR and the United States are taking on the role of equal partners, and the START Treaty testifies to this. On the other, undisguised discrimination against the Soviet Union's interests persists through COCOM rules. It cannot be ruled out that the USSR Supreme Soviet may draw attention to this paradox during discussions on the treaty and its ratification.

Worldwide Issues

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Holds Briefing

Welcomes Ghali UN Appointment

LD2211180191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Nov 81

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Oleg Polovko]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Nov—The Soviet Union has received with satisfaction the decision of the UN Security Council on the selection of Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister Butrus Ghali as the international organization's new secretary general. This was stated at today's briefing at the USSR Ministry of External Relations' press center by Vitaliy Churkin, head of the Ministry's Information Directorate.

Butrus Ghali, Vitaliy Churkin went on to say, is widely known as a major politician and highly professional diplomat who has taken part in many international forums. "He is definitely a worthy successor to Perez de Cuellar in this post", he said.

One of the main tasks of the new secretary general is seen in the USSR to be "the consistent reforming of the UN, improvement of its mechanisms, and the affirmation of the organization's role as a multilateral center to coordinate international efforts to develop the foundations of a new post-confrontation world order." For its part the Soviet Union will continue to give "all-around support for the activities of the secretary general directed at revealing the peacemaking potential of the United Nations and at consolidating the positive trends in the development of international relations," the Soviet diplomat stated.

Recounts Shevardnadze Comments

LD2211214791 Moscow TASS in English 1919 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Andrey Pershin and Oleg Polovko]

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has chaired the first expanded meeting of the ministry's board today to discuss tasks of the new ministry under current conditions.

Informing correspondents on this event at a briefing here today, the Soviet Foreign Ministry's spokesman Vitaliy Churkin said Shevardnadze decided to hold the meeting "without an agenda or a report". It was a friendly meeting to jointly elaborate a program and strategy of actions.

Noting that the ministry's staff has, on the whole, fulfilled the difficult tasks it faced, the minister distinguished two major areas of work in modern conditions.

The first one concerns the new character of relations between the center and republics. The minister called for the provision of actual participation of the republics in the formation of foreign policy and foreign economic priorities. He said this concerns not only former Union republics, but former autonomies as well.

"We should act so that they need our advice and recommendations," the minister stressed.

The second area involves the ministry's foreign economic functions. Shevardnadze stressed they "will have to work hard", since the country will not overcome its difficulties without cooperation with foreign states.

The minister believes it is necessary to speed up the creation of a favorable atmosphere for economic cooperation with foreign states, including foreign investments in the Soviet economy.

The ministry will have to take a serious examination, Shevardnadze noted.

Touching on international events, the Soviet Foreign Ministry's spokesman said the Soviet Union is satisfied with the decision of the U.N. Security Council on the election new U.N. Secretary-General of Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister Butrus Ghali. [sentence as received]

He noted Ghali is widely known as a major politician and highly professional diplomat, who will be a worthy successor of Perez de Cuellar.

A group of Palestinian officials headed by Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, who is also the leader of the Palestinian delegation to the Madrid peace conference on the Middle East, will arrive in Moscow on November 22 to hold meetings at the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Churkin said.

The visit is made within the framework of contacts carried out by the Soviet side as a co-chairman of the Madrid forum with all the parties to the conference.

Gorbachev Message Given to UN Peace Official

LD2311211991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1517 GMT 23 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov]

[Excerpts] United Nations, 23 Nov (TASS)—On Friday, Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR first deputy minister of external relations, handed over a personal message from USSR President M.S. Gorbachev to Shri Chinmoy, international ambassador of peace and head of one of the nongovernmental organizations functioning at the United Nations. The message contains a high appraisal of the efforts by the public figure toward developing humanism and strengthening the ideals of morality and spirituality.

In the conversation which took place between them, the two noted the important contribution of religious and cultural figures to the evolutionary process of the renewal of peace. [passage omitted]

It is thanks to such personalities as Shri Chinmoy that the moral renewal of society is taking place, V.F. Petrovskiy noted in conversation with the TASS correspondent. In the final analysis, the peace which is being built today is not an abstraction. It is the embodiment of the efforts of many people. The larger the contribution of devotees who have prestige in various spheres, including religious, the greater the certainty that renewal will occur and that we will part with the past, based on force and confrontation.

Continuing Reportage on G-7 Finance Talks

Silayev Comments

LD2211222991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1934 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Interview with Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, head of the Interstate Economic Committee, by correspondent N. Chernyshova, in the framework of the "Topical Interview" program; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Chernyshova] Ivan Stepanovich, the G-7 talks have finished. They were probably not very pleasant for us, and were complex. It was not very pleasant to sit and be answerable for not paying our debts, to sit as a debtor.

[Silayev] It really was very hard and difficult and to a certain extent, it was, if you like, humiliating, our talks were humiliating with one side having given the loans and the second unable to see a way of settling up on time. It is always more difficult to return something than to take it. Nevertheless, I have come away with a positive view of the results of this meeting. In saying this, I would divide the results up into three parts, so to speak.

The first one is the agreement on postponing the debt itself because our foreign economic position today is such that we have absolutely nothing with which to settle, without even mentioning the fact that no one will grant us any credits to purchase imported foodstuffs which, at the moment, are of the utmost importance to us. Undoubtedly, the representatives of the Seven have imposed very harsh conditions. Generally speaking, they are logical. Debts need to be paid. Therefore, it is unfortunate that there have been quite lengthy quarrels between the republics about joint and several liability, and this has already called for additional time being spent, and has made additional demands on our nerves. Perhaps, at first, not everyone understood what joint and several responsibility meant.

[Chernyshova] I think that not all of our viewers will understand it either.

[Silayev] Yes.

[Chernyshova] Perhaps you could say a few words.

[Silayev] Yes, I would just like to speak about this. Joint and several liability is not just the liability of each for his share of the debt. It is also liability for the whole debt, every country or republic taking part in paying off that debt. That is to say, it is liable not just for itself but is also liable for the remaining republics and if one of them can't find the opportunity, or on the contrary, has the opportunity but doesn't want to, it is liable for that part, too. That is the first part. It is a good thing, ultimately, that we agreed that the debt on long-term and medium-term credits should be deferred until 31 December 1992. Consequently, the road has opened up for allocating to us credits which, in principle, the G-7 countries have determined. That was an obstacle. That means that today we can already speak optimistically both about signing contracts and about deliveries of foodstuffs for our country.

The second thing is, I think, that we have had very good and useful lessons on how to hold a civilized conversation on the most complex problems. Some of the republics took umbrage and said that it was arm-twisting, that it was some kind of diktat. That is, I think, elementary civilized behavior by those who want their debts to be repaid, moreover, large debts given to us over the past five years.

The third part is the carrying out radical reforms, jointly. That is not just Russia promulgating its program. It intends to implement them, but what about the other republics? The other republics, under that document, should join in, and with the participation of experts of international organizations, should take energetic action to implement the planned reforms.

[Chernyshova] That is to say, they also intend to take part in implementing these reforms?

[Silayev] Yes, yes. Therefore, it seems to me that the third distinctive feature of these agreements is that, we will, if you like, to a certain extent, urging us along... [changes thought] reforms will be carried out with the active participation of specialists from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, too, but, strictly speaking, if you like, under their supervision as people who are interested in us implementing our program, for they do not see any other possibility of recouping the debts from us. They realize that the further worsening of the economy will not allow us to settle our debts with them. The year will fly past quickly. 1993 will come and we will once again be back where we started.

[Chernyshova] It depends on how one reacts to that. On the one hand, it is a pity that our state has lived to see the day when it can work under somebody's supervision, and on the other hand, I understand that the world economy, world economic experience will be an invaluable teacher and helper in implementing the reforms.

[Silayev] Undoubtedly. You know, I would not take offence. And I would ask the esteemed television viewers not to think of themselves as having been offended, not to think that well, here they are teaching us how to work. And we really do need to be taught how to work in other conditions, in another structure from what we had in our country. I do not want to say that we worked badly in those conditions but in the new market conditions we must work in a different way. After all, there is the principle that if you want to do something then put yourself in a hopeless situation. We are already in a hopeless situation today. And therefore, whether we like it or not, in order to obtain their debts from us, the Western powers are prepared to help us, to prompt us, and to work together to implement the basic and most important directions of the reform.

[Chernyshova] Ivan Stepanovich, I know that not all the republics have signed this memorandum, among them Uzbekistan which has, for the present, absolutely refused to pay. Georgia and Azerbaijan were sort of observers, and the Ukraine has requested the proportional division not only of debts, but of assets, too.

[Silayev] Yes.

[Chernyshova] How do you plan to divide this, how will it be determined?

[Silayev] First and foremost, I would like to say that I do not really understand the opposition from these republics, for the problems which they mention also apply identically to those who signed without any hesitation on joint and several responsibility. For example, Russia. Russia is to bear the bulk of the responsibility because, approximately speaking, more than 60 percent of this debt is Russia's. Nevertheless, they signed this document, this obligation to bear joint and several responsibility for paying the debt.

It is no simple issue to divide up a debt. Generally speaking, each republic thinks that somehow it is not their responsibility, it is the responsibility of others. However, on the whole, everyone is in agreement that there is a real debt—it was taken out, and now needs to be paid back.

The republics have agreed among themselves—all 12 republics—that they will resolve this problem over 10 days. It is very important when the Seven say roughly the following: Those who do not want, who refuse to assume joint and several responsibility for the common debt cannot count on receiving any independent credits. That was stated with great force, and, I would say, very harshly. That is the stance of the Seven.

And the republics themselves which, let's say, have assumed joint and several responsibility while others do not want to be responsible—they may then think, well what should happen with credits for foodstuffs? Is it worth sharing them with those republics which want to receive them, and who need them? They need grain and sugar and butter, but they do not want to assume joint and several responsibility for those debts which were incurred jointly.

[Chernyshova] Russia has stated that it is ready to pay the debts which the republics refuse to pay. Is that a generous gesture, or is it based on any calculations?

[Silayev] No, I don't think that it is a generous gesture. It is very serious. It is, of course, a complex and serious statement for Russia, but it is has a certain foundation because Russia, like no one else, has great natural resources and many other potential economic possibilities. But then it will dictate the conditions to those who won't pay, for any republic which approaches the world economy will be rejected everywhere and it will return and will come to Russia and then it will ask it for hard currency to settle its debts and then it will already enter into some kind of mutual economic relationship.

[Chernyshova] The Western countries have received our promise to divide our debts and to repay the main debt. Our main repayments have been deferred, as I understand it, for a year. What will the people receive specifically? Will we be helped during this difficult winter which lies ahead?

[Silayev] Yes, I have already said that in the first place, they are granting us credits, on the whole, very considerable credits. That is, in the main, foodstuffs, medicines, and some kinds of raw materials for light industry. That's in the first place. In the second place, we have the possibility of putting the hard currency resources which we ourselves, our country, earns, not into repaying the debt, but into the economy. Well these are resources which we will have the opportunity of investing in our economy and which, in the first place, the republics will invest in production, well, in the consumer market.

[Chernyshova] Thank you.

RSFSR's Gaydar Interviewed

LD2211230591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2131 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Live studio interview with Ye. Gaydar, "deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Government [RSFSR]," by correspondent Andrey Pishchayev; from the program "Debts and Loans—On the Ending of the Meeting Between Western Financiers and Republic Leaders"]

[Text] [Pishchayev] Another round of the meeting between the Seven and the leaders of the 12 republics ended today. It was at this meeting that a dramatic situation evolved. The representatives of Western financial circles did not expect the former agreement on the collective liability of the republics for paying off the Soviet foreign debts to scatter like a house of cards. Although the Ukraine signed the memorandum, it retained the right to confirm its signature in a week. Uzbekistan refused, as is known, to sign that document. How do you assess the position of these republics?

[Gaydar] The work was difficult, and every republic proceeded from its own interests and tried to defend them as far as it considered it to be possible. The interests of the 12 entities had to be coordinated there on the extremely important and complex question of the allocation of the Soviet debt which runs into many billions, a question which directly affects the life of each of these republics today. It would be strange and difficult to expect everything to go smoothly. All the more so since the position of the countries of the Seven was, it should be said, rather tough.

It was formulated approximately thus: either you accept our conditions without any reservations, or we will end the talks and after that the Foreign Economic Bank will be insolvent, and all credits, including foodstuffs, will end automatically. Taking account of the situation in which we find ourselves today, the outcome of these talks was extremely difficult, extremely unpleasant.

[Pishchayev] Didn't you get the impression that this meeting began from a blank page?

[Gaydar] No! The last meeting of course did not begin from a blank page. It was based upon talks which were held earlier, talks with the Union—and then the Interrepublic Economic Committee—work with the Seven has been under way for a long time ago—and in some respects, the approaches which were formed as to how relations between the Seven and the republics should be constructed were the result of that work. Speaking of what is fundamentally important in these approaches, the first thing was the tough line of the Seven that it was necessary to obtain the signing by all 12 republics of the memorandum on the joint and several liability for paying off the debt. It has been clear for long time that it is very difficult to achieve this and this manifested itself once again in the course of these meetings. It came to light that three republics were, in principle, not prepared to do this, and then it came to light that a fourth was not prepared either.

These are the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and Azerbaijan, and then in the end Georgia could not bring itself to sign. We had to look for a way out of the situation which has developed because the talks were on the verge of failure. In this situation, the Russian delegation, in agreement with the delegations from Belarus [Belorussia] and Kazakhstan, came forward with an initiative that those republics which adhere unconditionally to the treaties and are prepared to be liable for the debts of the Soviet Union, should assume that responsibility in full, by which I mean, 100 percent, suggesting that the other republics join them and that the world community deal with the other republics only through their mediation.

Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan immediately joined these three republics and a little later they were joined by Turkmenia, Armenia, and Moldova. That's how the memorandum came about, in which eight republics assumed liability for the Soviet debt and told the Seven firmly that the fate of Soviet [words indistinct] is inseparable from the fate of Soviet debts and turned the

Foreign Economic Bank into their own interrepublic body to service debts, which it will do at their instigation.

They stated firmly that any subsequent debts— the memorandum covered the debts of the Soviet Union—all subsequent debts will have to be undertaken by strict agreement with the republics intending to assume liability for them, jointly and severally.

[Pishchayev] In other words, this meeting was not as unproductive or unpromising as the previous meeting.

[Gaydar] First of all, the results of the talks cannot be called unproductive.

I consider that they were very fruitful. The first question, really, of the Soviet debt—the legal inheritance of the Soviet debt, which has recently been giving the international financial community such a headache, has in some senses been resolved. There are nine republics that have accepted—that is, eight republics that have accepted all the legal obligations involved in inheriting the Soviet debts. We brought them together and they said that they have no intention of writing off the Soviet debt and confronting the international financial community with insoluble problems; they are willing to be responsible for them and work out a mechanism for paying these debts. That is the first very serious result, which will be of enormous significance for our relations with the (?Union).

Second, mutual understanding was achieved in principle, after long and exhausting talks, on mutual understanding in principle on the package of credit agreements which the West was willing to offer us. Not everything has been definitively clarified, there are many compromises, but there was very serious progress in some directions.

As regards why it has become possible. Then to be precise, it is not because of the compromises a number of the republics have made, but rather, because we have tried to unravel this Gordian knot after saying that all right, if a number of the republics do not want to participate in this agreement, then let those of us who want to conclude it and who are ready to adopt decisions move forward and let us see if the others will join us. So we made a start. Just as soon as we started on this, it became clear that those problems which we have always found difficult are, it transpires, very easy to resolve.

[Pishchayev] Bankers are expressing their fears regarding the possible bankruptcy of our financial system. This could undoubtedly hold them back from offering new credits. Besides which, a section of our loans come from Western commercial banks, primarily French ones, which offered credit without state insurance guarantees. One can appreciate their position. Can we convince the West that our credit is good? What are our arguments?

[Gaydar] The fact that the Soviet Union's financial position is complex and that we have serious debt problems is no secret to anyone. It is also no secret that in principle we could not guarantee to make all our payments without (?rescheduling) our debt due to our condition at the end of fall 1991 and up to 1992. The issue was how could we manage to organize the rescheduling. Would anyone help us, or would we have to delay our payments, or interrupt them? Up to this time, the Foreign Economic Bank has fulfilled its payment obligations on time, but it needed help. This was the fundamental issue. Could the Seven today come to the aid of the Foreign Economic Bank and guarantee its (?creditworthiness) and avoid a halting of payments which would have had a harmful effect both on us, and on all of our agents, on all the banks which are offering us credit, or would we fail to achieve this?

Nevertheless, we have achieved interrepublic mutual understanding, and we have gained the agreement of the Seven, including on the issue of deferring our payments on the main amount of our debt which is something in the region of 3.6 billion [units not specified]. This is a very serious contribution toward guaranteeing the current credit capacity of the Foreign Economic Bank.

[Pishchayev] Do you see any possibility of large-scale assistance from the Western countries in the immediate future? and how could that be carried out?

[Gaydar] I have always been skeptical regarding large-scale assistance from the West. After all, no one will solve our problems for us. Our present problem is the implementation of those credit agreements which have already been concluded of late between republics by interrepublic bodies, and in accordance with which we already bought foodstuffs and have started to load ships with it. This is the first thing. I think that after today our chances have improved.

[Pishchayev] The Soviet man on the street usually asks: What lies ahead in connection with the G-7 decision and with the new plans of the Russian government?

[Gaydar] In my view, according to the G-7 decisions the main thing which awaits us tomorrow is a chance that ships loaded with foodstuffs, which have already been paid for, will not be stopped and will be allowed to leave for Soviet ports. This is my main worry at present as a result of today's conference. Well, common people will feel, first of all, will feel.... [changes thought] I hope that sooner or later they will feel it through the the opening of the economy, through the fact that economic barriers, which prevent us living like they do in the whole world, disappear.

[Pishchayev] Barriers between the West and the East?

[Gaydar] Between the West and the East, between our economy and the economy of other countries, and there will be convertible currency. They will feel it sooner or later because the prices race will come to a halt and the consumer market will be normalized when we have conditions of the Western market here and when there won't be a problem of acquiring goods, and there will one and the only problem of how much you earn. So in other words nothing prevents us from making it fairly quickly.

Meeting Results Viewed

PM2411155191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 91 p 3

[S. Ivanov report: "Eight Times Seven..."]

[Text] The Moscow conference of representatives of the seven leading countries and the eight former USSR republics has ended.

The trouble is that you obtain credit for a certain period but end up paying it back forever. An hour before the airplanes departed from Sheremetyevo-2 in seven different directions, the developed countries' representatives finally received assurances that the former USSR's debts would be repaid.

During a brief news conference I. Silayev, chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee, summed up the results of the four days of conferences. The main thing is the signing of documents in which a number of republics declare their solidary responsibility to pay their debts. Evidently an explanation of what is meant by "solidarity" is required here. A state that has signed the final memorandum and communique guarantees payment of its part of the debt and assumes responsibility for its neighbors' debts. Within a 10-day period it is planned to create a special committee which will assume the duties of proportionally sharing out not only the debts but also the assets which belong to the former republics. For the moment the Ukraine has refrained from meeting such major commitments, deciding to await the division of property and the determination of its share, and at the same time to await the presidential election results. While Uzbekistan has categorically refused to be responsible for others.

The "Seven" have conducted themselves quite properly, carefully investigating our difficulties. It was promised that the medium- and long-term part of the debts which were to be paid this December can be paid one year later.

Given the haste in which the meeting with journalists was held, a minor curious incident could not be avoided. Ivan Stepanovich gave his assurance that 10 former republics had signed the documents. However, the Georgian representatives shrugged their shoulders, and National Bank President G. Kapuriya answered your correspondent's questions by saying that they had been present only as observers and had no right to sign anything. Likewise, Azerbaijan did not commit itself.

Group Outlines Goals in Restoring CEMA Ties

LD2411045891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1602 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Nov (TASS)—The international nongovernmental organization "Eastern European Cooperation and Trade" (EECT) [vostochnoevropeyskoye sotrudnichestvo i torgovlya] has set itself the principal tasks of forming on the territory previously covered by CEMA a single economic space, of creating the prerequisites for the integration of the former socialist countries into the worldwide economic system, and of restoring the interrupted economic and production links. Its presentation has taken place today at a news conference in the press center of the USSR Ministry of External Relations.

Speaking to journalists, the president of the new organization, Leonid Cheshinskiy, noted that it has arisen at the initiative of the entrepeneurial and economic structures of Russia, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Kazakhstan, Hungary, and the Ukraine. They have resolved to immediately start restoring the links that had broken down without waiting for "the catastrophically tardy steps of governments."

Replying to questions, those participating in the news conference emphasized that one of the main reasons for the overwhelming economic crisis affecting the former allied states is the loss of a universal unit for settling accounts with each other. This is placing hundreds of thousands of producers of goods linked together by means of traditional cooperation on the verge of bankruptcy. Therefore the EECT specialists are proposing the recognition of foreign currency certificates as universal units for settling accounts with each other. They will have the status of a nongovernmental standard unit which will be called upon to gradually equalize its rate in relation to freely convertible currency taking prices on the EECT market up to normal world levels and creating conditions for the transition to a freely convertible ruble.

The leaders of the EECT have reported that the headquarters of the new organization is to be situated in Moscow but they have denied any intention of occupying the former CEMA building.

Sources: Embassies, Consulates To Be Closed

OW2511104391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0743 GMT 25 Nov 91

[From the 22 November "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] It has become known from reliable sources that the ten or so Soviet embassies and general consulates to be closed for the sake of economy are mostly those in the countries where these representative offices lease, not own, the premises they occupy.

Until the list of the embassies to be axed has been endorsed by the top Soviet leadership, the Foreign Ministry is dodging the question of what countries will be affected. There are indications that most of the doomed embassies are in Third World countries.

Pogodin Commentary on Madrid Peace Conference

LD2411035991 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Commentary by Aleksandr Pogodin]

[Text] After a promising beginning of the peace conference in Madrid, the prospects now don't appear so bright. What causes major concern is the toughened stance of the participants in the second stage of the conference: Israel's bilateral talks with the Arab countries. Indicative in this respect are latest statements by the Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir during his tour of the United States. Addressing the Council of American Jewish Organizations in Baltimore on the 21st, he stressed again that there could be no talks on the Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and forming an independent Palestinian State. It is worth mentioning that this categorical statement was made just before Mr. Shamir was expected to meet with the American Secretary of State James Baker and President Bush, who support a settlement on the principle peace for land, which presupposes the return to the Arabs of the Israeli occupied lands in exchange for guarantees of peace and security to Israel.

Syria's stand also seems irreconcilable. It insists Israel withdraw from the Golan Heights before peace talks start. Lebanon now demands the Israeli troops be withdrawan from its south. The PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat made a statement on Wednesday that showed the Palestinian stand had also become tougher, though recently the Palestinian side appeared to be inclined to search for a compromise. But this does not seem to be a deadlock, because no matter how tough the stands of Israel and the Arab countries are, they wish to continue talks to find a political solution to the Middle East problem. Evidently no one wants to be held responsible for a break down of the talks that were so difficult to begin and gave rise to so many hopes in the Middle East and throuhgout the world.

The United States spares no efforts to help resume the dialogue. Its cochairman at the conference, the Soviet Union, is also doing what it can to persuade the parties to the conflict to reject mistrust and hostility of the past decades and step by step solve their complicated problems. Now everything depends on realism and goodwill of the participants in the talks.

United States & Canada

Further on Strategic Stability Talks in U.S.

First Meeting Held

LD2211143591 Moscow TASS in English 1130 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksey Berezhkov, Aleksandr Korolev, and Stanislav Lunev]

[Text] Washington November 22 TASS—The first Soviet-American meeting on strategic stability ended here on Thursday [21 November]. It discussed the rapidly changing international situation, the new geopolitical setup and the coordination of joint actions to prevent world crises and conflicts.

The Soviet delegation was headed by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the USSR president's Political Consultative Council. Its work was coordinated by First Deputy Minister for External Relations of the USSR Vladimir Petrovskiy. The delegation also included member of the presidential Political Consultative Council Yuriy Ryzhov, director of the Central Intelligence Service Yevgeniy Primakov, State Counsellor of the Russian Federation Sergey Stankevich.

The American team was headed by chief director of the politics planning staff of the U.S. State Department Dennis Ross. It also included Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Ronald Lehman, Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Arnold Canter, Undersecretary of State for Economy and Agriculture Robert Zoellic, special presidential aide, Director of the European and Soviet Affairs Department of the National Security Council Edward Hewett.

The discussion was unofficial. Its participants agreed not to divulge to the press the details of the discussed problems. The only thing that an official representative of the State Department could tell TASS after the talks was that Soviet and American experts would again meet in Moscow early next year. He added that the American side believed the members of the team had some very comprehensive negotiations, which produced many interesting proposals.

"The meeting was marked by a very open atmosphere," Yakovlev told TASS. "This is perhaps the first time that we had such a frank talk on all the problems, even the most delicate ones, which were formerly regarded as practically closed to bilateral discussion. The main idea was that we all, including people who have made appreciable headway in the new thinking and those who are still lagging behind, must realise in a new light (and the Americans agree with this) what we are in this world, what threats we are confronted with, and what we mean by stability, what are its components and correlations. The foundation was laid for continued cooperation in this domain. We have agreed to hold regular meetings thrice or four times a year by turns in the United States and in our country."

Delegation 'Pleased'

LD2211143991 Moscow TASS in English 1117 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Lebedev]

[Text] Washington November 22 TASS—"Problems of nuclear weapons control in the Soviet Union, defence of national minority rights, prospects for cooperation in strengthening military- political stability, elimination of threats, arising from the proliferation of nuclear weapons and missile technologies were discussed during the first Soviet-American meeting with closed doors on strategic stability," a member of the Soviet delegation, who wished to remain anonymous, told TASS today.

"The Soviet side is pleased with the results of the consultations," he said. "Judging by everything, the U.S. delegation was also satisfied by the character and contents of the talks. The dialogue was extremely frank. This is, perhaps, the first time that American and Soviet representatives had such an outspoken and frank discussion."

"It is very important that we were able to determine the problems that will be discussed at further meetings," the Soviet official noted. The sides have agreed to hold such meetings regularly. The next one is to take place in Moscow in January 1992.

Delegation Returns

LD2411150691 Moscow TASS in English 1257 GMT 24 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—A Soviet delegation, led by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Consultative Council to the president of the USSR, returned here today after visiting the United States for consultations on strategic stability.

Yakovlev had a meeting with President George Bush. They discussed matters concerning the situation in the Soviet Union, relations between republics and the centre, and economic cooperation between the USSR and the U.S.

Yakovlev Says Talks 'Serious'

LD2411192391 Moscow TASS in English 1907 GMT 24 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—Soviet President's Political Consultative Committee member Aleksandr Yakovlev on his return from the U.S.A. described the unofficial Soviet-American consultations on strategic stability which were held according to an agreement between the Soviet and American President as "serious and very sincere" in an interview with a TASS correspondent on Sunday [24 November].

We are now entering a new stage of relations between the Soviet Union and America, Yakovlev said. A new joint approach to such global problems as the present demographic situation, ecology, arms reductions and prevention of aggression and religious wars must become the cornerstone of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. Regional conflicts and cooperation in their solution were also discussed, Yakovlev said, and a decision was worked out to conduct sessions of the Soviet-American group on strategic stability every three months.

In the course of his multiple meetings with Americans Yakovlev informed the American Administration, the American public of the situation in the Soviet Union. He had discussions with President Bush, addressed the public in Chicago, Washington D.C., Princeton and Cambridge. Americans are ready to help find solutions to the Soviet problems in spite of the fact they are now experiencing certain difficulties in banking and finance, Yakovlev said. An agreement for an air shipment of 400 tons of medicine from the U.S. was reached, he said.

Taking part in the delegation was Soviet Central Intelligence Service Chief Yevgeniy Primakov who refrained from commenting the results of the visit "till a news conference scheduled for November 27."

Diplomat on Talks

OW2511111491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0743 GMT 25 Nov 91

[From the 22 November "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] It is going to be a "brainstorm, an attack on the general, conceptual problems. If it leads to any breakthroughs, they will be developed by experts capable of fleshing them out to produce concrete arrangements. This is, according to a senior Soviet diplomat, the idea behind the first Soviet-U.S. round of consultations on strategic stability that has just closed in Washington. The Soviet delegation was led by Mr. Aleksandr Yakovlev, a member of the USSR president's Political Consultative Council, and included Petrovskiy, Ryzkhov, Primakov, Stankevich, Bovin and others. [no end quotation marks received]

He told DP [Diplomatic Panorama] that though Washington might soon redefine its foreign policy to deal more with individual republics than with the centre, this possible shift, according to the diplomat, would not be alarming. According to him, on the agenda are global problems—by definition, those that all people without exception are worried over. The diplomat believes that all the republics should be invited to participate in the talks in order to work out a coordinated policy.

U.S. Ambassador Congratulates Shevardnadze

LD2211232891 Moscow TASS in English 2258 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 23 TASS—U.S. Ambassador to the USSR Robert Strauss expressed, on behalf of President Bush and Secretary of State Baker, to Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze warm congratulations and greetings in connection with his nomination to this post.

The ambassador expressed the firm determination of the U.S. Administration to render effective support and specific aid to profound social and economic transformations in the USSR.

The U.S. aid is not a charity arrangement, Strauss stressed. It aims to provide for normal democratic process in the USSR, in which the whole international community is interested.

Shevardnadze noted, on his new post he will continue to do everything necessary to fruitfully develop the Soviet-U.S. interaction.

The ambassador passed to the minister a message from James Baker on the continuation of the peace process in the Middle East after the Madrid conference. It was noted that the Soviet Union and the United States, as co-chairmen of the peace conference on the Middle East, will continue active interaction and partnership in order to boost the efforts aimed to achieve a comprehensive just settlement in the region.

Chairman Zhirinovskiy Meets With U.S. Editor

OW2111133991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1050 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a meeting with the editor of U.S. NEWS WORLD REPORT, Mr. Zuckerman, yesterday, the Chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of the USSR, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, said that certain forces in the USA were making a tragic mistake by giving support to forces undermining the Soviet state.

It could not do much good to the USA, Mr. Zhirinovskiy said, that it still cooperated with communists who now called themselves democrats but were still using the old methods of Bolshevik fanatics.

"The Americans don't seem to realize that, although communist structures have to be demolished, you shouldn't take the state to pieces, you shouldn't alter its borders," he said, "for this would lead to a world war and a general catastrophe." The Russians did not want any war, he stressed, but they might feel embittered if their state fell apart and might resort to extreme measures.

"The Japanese will never get the Kuril islands—they may get a nuclear strike instead," said Mr. Zhirinovskiy. "There could also be an act of nuclear retaliation against Pakistan, a country which supports the Afghan mujahidin who have the cheek to keep Russian lads in captivity."

He suggested that the world be divided into several spheres of influence and a new version of Entente Cordiale be set up—an alliance of the USA, Germany, Russia, and Japan to deter the onslaught of the South.

"If I am elected President," Mr. Zhirinovskiy assured Mr. Zuckerman, "I will guarantee the introduction of private ovnership, a civilized market economy, the protection of human rights, and the equality of nations."

Reporter Discusses U.S. Aid Package

LD2411115491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Live telephone link-up between studio reporter Sergey Goryachev and Washington correspondent Boris Kalyagin from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] [Goryachev] U.S. President George Bush approved the granting to the former Soviet Union of credit for the purchase of grain amounting to $1.25 billion. It has also been announced that we will be granted humanitarian aid. Representatives of the adminstration say that for the first time both credit and aid will be directed not only for the disposal of the central government in Moscow, but also for the republics.

On the line is Boris Kalyagin, our correspondent in Washington. It is still daytime in the United States, so good afternoon to you, Boris.

[Kaylyagin] Good evening to you.

[Goryachev] Boris, according to some data we have, U.S. aid will be granted allegedly only to the republics, avoiding the center. Commentaries have appeared that this will signify the recognition by the U.S. Administration of the complete disintegration of the Union center, with all the ensuing consequences, both economic and political. What information do you have on this account and has there really been such an evolution in the American approach?

[Kalyagin] The White House is having to take account of our realities. This time credits will be allocated to all the 12 republics, apart from the Baltics, which are on the territory of the Soviet Union. But that will be done via the interrepublican committee for foodstuffs formed in Moscow, which may be considered a central body. The U.S. Administration is striving to maintain a balance. It is taking account of the fact that real power is going over to the republics, but it does not want to encourage the process of disintegration. I would like to note further that the sum of the credit allocated to us this year by the United States has reached $4 billion already.

[Goryachev] Boris, it is known that the U.S. Congress is also examining the question of allocating to us $1 billion at the expense of the American military budget. To what degree can it be believed that the allocation of this money will really take place?

[Kalyagin] That initiative belongs to members of the Democratic Party. Many Republicans came out against it. There is not any unity even among the Democrats themselves. After all, they are reproaching President Bush for paying too much attention to international problems, forgetting about his own house. The reply to them now is: Well, you yourselves are proposing to increase foreign aid instead of spending this money on the needs of Americans. These disputes are connected with the U.S. presidential election campaign now beginning. We know that the presidential race lies ahead. If not everything, then much is subordinate to its interests.

[Goryachev] Well, that is fine. That means that we will not have to settle accounts at the Pentagon's expense?

[Kalyagin] No, there is hope. The fact of the matter is that a considerable coalition of eight very influential Democrats and seven Republicans has formed in the Senate. They have stated that now is a critical moment in history. Chaos cannot be allowed to arise in a country with 27,000 nuclear warheads. They have proposed that not 1 billion, but half a billion dollars be allocated from the U.S. military budget and that these resources be allocated only for storing and dismantling Soviet nuclear weapons deployed on the territory of several republics. The senators say that....

[Goryachev, interrupting] Boris Kalyagin, many thanks to you, but our time on the air is up. Boris Kalyagin, our correspondent in Washington.

China

Chinese View of Postcoup Events Examined

PM2211160091 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 45, 10-17 Nov 91 p 12

[Andrey Kuzmenko article: "Gorbachev, Restorer of Capitalism"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has circulated among lower party organizations a confidential document reflecting the Chinese leadership's attitude toward the August events in the USSR.

Western journalists in Beijing have got hold of some very significant propaganda. It says that "the Soviet Union is busy restoring capitalism" and that the Soviet leadership's mistake consisted in that "no correct successor to the former leaders had been chosen". The given circular, it is reported, was based on the reflections of the senile Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping who, when preparing it uttered a highly meaningful phrase: "Hide our capabilities, we'll bide our time". Western analysts have interpreted this phrase to mean Deng Xiaoping wants to avoid radical upheavals in China which might be provoked by the democratic processes in the USSR. I believe that the given aphorism has a direct bearing on Soviet-Chinese relations—sit on the fence, watch what turn developments in our country take, and pass on decisions accordingly.

Unlike leaders of most other countries, Chinese leadership has not voiced its attitude towards the August coup in the USSR. The Chairman of the PRC, Yang Shangkun alone, who was on a visit to Mongolia at the time, called the abortive putsch "criminal" in talks with his Mongolian colleagues, although he had been personally involved in similar tragic events in Tiananmen Square in June 1989. However, this statement was officially refuted by a spokesman for the PRC Foreign Ministry who explained that the Mongolian leaders had "misunderstood" their Chinese guest. One can only imagine who really rules the country if its chairman is being corrected this way.

It would not be remiss to recall that XINHUA, the PRC official news agency was three hours late (sic) in announcing the failure of the coup in the USSR. Clearly, this must also have involved dovetailing at the highest political level. Wherein lies the reason for poorly disguised sympathies for the putschists, and what would the Chinese leadership's interests have been, had the coup been a success? To understand this, one must look at some of the details surrounding Soviet-Chinese relations in the period after Mikhail Gorbachev's May 1989 visit to Beijing.

Shortly after his trip, students shed their blood in Tiananmen Square. In August, communist regimes started crumbling, one after another in Eastern Europe. In spring 1990, at a CPSU Central Committee plenum, the party formally renounced its claims to the leading role in the country. All this triggered sharp personal criticisms, levelled at Gorbachev in "classified" party documents of the CPC Central Committee. It seemed to be clear that not only the regimes but also ideology had gone bankrupt, and yet they had to find the "culprit personally responsible"—the normal logic of the apparat. Gorbachev was accused of "undermining socialism" and creating the "illusion of a detente".

True, after the Premier of the PRC State Council Li Peng's visit to Moscow relations seemed to be on the ascent, and no anti- Gorbachev party documents were circulated in the PRC until September 1991. What issue was at hand which the USSR and China found mutual understanding on? The most important one—that of the military-industrial complex. During Li Peng's visit, meetings were held between Kleymenov, first deputy chief of the general staff of the USSR, and Xu Xin, deputy chief of the general staff of the People's Liberation Army. Also taking part in the talks were O. Shishkin, minister of general machine-building of the USSR, and from the Chinese side, Gan Ziyu, deputy head of the PRC State Planning Committee. And even by summer 1991, the USSR was visited by a delegation led by Liu Huaqing, vice-chairman of the PRC central ministry council, who was accompanied by Major-General Shen Runjun, deputy chief of the committee for defence science, technology and industry. The Chinese visitors negotiated the purchase of two dozen SU-27 fighter planes for the "friendly" price of 35 million US dollars a piece. The fate of the "air" deal is still unclear. According to unofficial reports (no official data are still available) three of the SU-27 aircraft are present at one of the north-eastern bases in China. On the other hand, the disintegration of Union structures and the growth of civilian control over questions of armaments will evidently rule out completion of supplies of Soviet fighters and the training of Chinese pilots in the USSR.

The talks on the given deal, which can certainly be referred to as covert transactions, were sufficiently indicative—the Chinese suggested that part of the payment should be output of the light and food industries, but Soviet partners demanded "cash alone", and the demand was accepted.

Still unanswered is the question of whom the money was meant for. It definitely would not be entered in the state budget of the USSR—at any rate the USSR Supreme Soviet had passed no decision on the sale of high tech fighters. Now that many of the CPSU's financial machinations have come to light, it can be presumed that the deal implied remitting the sum directly to Party accounts.

Meanwhile, relations between representatives from the Soviet and Chinese Armies continued to develop. From the moment that Marshal Yazov visited Beijing in May 1991, and Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee (ex officio chairman of the CPC Central Military Council), paid a visit to Moscow, a "honeymoon" started for the conservatives of both countries. From late May till August, the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA alone published about a dozen articles on how well socialism was being built in China. One of them said: "Strategic cooperation between the planet's two major powers could radically alter the existing military balance, unfavourable as it is for them at present,...and restore the once shaken global equilibrium of forces which is vitally needed for all the peoples of the planet." So that, had the August coup succeeded in the USSR, the possibility of a strategic alliance between the USSR and the PRC would have been more than probable—at any rate, the logic of both countries' military leaders prompted precisely this conclusion.

The August developments in the USSR were accompanied by an eruption of tough communist rhetoric in China. There is no doubt that the Chinese leaders experienced an emotional shock in those days. The mass media hushed up the part played by the democratic forces in frustrating the coup for fear evidently of a splash of unrest in the PRC. These apprehensions were not at all groundless. But, on the other hand, the democratic movement in China has developed in accordance with its own logical schemes. Although susceptible to external influences, to a large extent it has been conditioned by purely Chinese problems.

Northeast Asia

DPRK Embassy Denies Nuclear Arms Assertions

News Conference on Nuclear Issue

SK2411072191 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1100 GMT 23 Nov 91

[From the "Focus on Asia" program; report by station reporter Oleg Sonoyev on news conference given by Pak Yon-il, counselor of the DPRK Embassy in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Text] First of all, I will briefly remind you of the essence of an issue. Recently, a striking change has been taking place on the Korean peninsula. For the first time in history, a realistic possibility for turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone is eminent. The decision to completely withdraw the U.S. tactical nuclear weapons deployed in South Korea well indicates this. As was declared in Seoul a few days ago, this plan will be carried out in the near future, about early January. However, the issue of an international inspection of the DPRK nuclear facilities has yet to be resolved. It should be ensured that such nuclear facilities are not used for developing nuclear weapons. The ROK and other countries are concerned about this.

What is the DPRK Government's position on the issue of nuclear facilities? Pak Yon-il, counselor of the DPRK Embassy in the Soviet Union, said as follows: The proposal for turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone was already made by the DPRK Government in June, 1982. The DPRK Foreign Ministry issued a statement specifying the proposal on 31 July 1991.

Pyongyang claims that the North and the South discuss all legal issues of turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone and will adopt a joint declaration on this by the end of 1990 [as heard] at the latest. According to Pyongyang's view, both sides' pledges should be clearly stipulated in the declaration.

We consider it important that the procedure of applying an international inspection to North Korea and South Korea also be included in the declaration. Only such a control can ensure a guarantee for turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone. We think that the United States and nuclear powers, the Soviet Union and China, should respect this opportunity.

In the news conference, Pak Yon-il, counselor of the DPRK Embassy, said: The United States and the ROK are forcing the DPRK to accept a unilateral inspection. We refute their demand. There is no reason for North Korea to block the possibility of a nuclear inspection; however, we demand the principle of mutuality.

First, the United States should fully carry out its pledge of withdrawing nuclear weapons from the ROK.

Second, Washington and Seoul should show the possibility of convincing all international organs that they have actually carried out the nuclear weapons withdrawal. We demand that a simultaneous nuclear inspection of the North and the South be carried out. If such a major issue is resolved, the possibility for turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone and for resolving other issues will be opened.

Further on News Conference

LD2211222991 Moscow TASS English 2143 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Vasily Titov]

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—The U.S. decision, connecting the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea with unilateral inspections of nuclear facilities of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, is a gross pressure and interference in internal affairs of a sovereign state, plenipotentiary minister and adviser of the DPRK's Embassy in the USSR, Pak Yon-il, told a news conference here today.

The news conference was organized in connection with a statement U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney made during his Seoul visit.

The conclusions on practically complete preparedness of North Korea to produce its own nuclear weapons, which were formally used as a reason for the preservation of the U.S. military presence on the Korean peninsula, are absolutely far-fetched and groundless, he said.

We have neither possibilities nor intentions to conduct our own nuclear programme, the spokesman noted.

As for the inspections, we are not against them, the diplomat said. We are for inspections, but for mutual ones: both on the territory of the DPRK and on U.S. military nuclear facilities in South Korea.

Describing in general the decision of the U.S. Administration, Pak Yon-il noted it was primarily prompted by the striving to preserve the U.S. military dictate not only on the Korean Peninsula, but in the whole Asian region.

Commentary Views Nuclear Issue

SK2311123191 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1330 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Commentary by station commentator Kondrashev from the "Today's World" program]

[Text] Commentators in Asia anchored their hope in the ROK- U.S. security consultative meeting held in Seoul. They stressed that a positive decision, which will be made in the course of discussing issues at the meeting, will lead to a continuous ease in the military and political tension on the Korean peninsula. In fact, the reduction of the U.S. troops and the withdrawal of the U.S. combat nuclear weapons can be two important measures for demilitarizing the Korean peninsula and for turning it into a nuclear-free zone.

Only a measure has been made in Seoul. All things considered, Washington will realize President Bush's proposal for cutting nuclear arsenals and will withdraw nuclear weapons from the Korean peninsula in the near future. However, the U.S. forces in the ROK will still remain as they are.

In addition, Washington plans to reinforce the combat potentials of the U.S. forces in the ROK by equipping them with efficient ultramodern conventional weapons. For example, the United States plans to deploy a launching system of the patriot intercept missile along the line bordering the DPRK. According to Washington and Seoul, this decision is due to the DPRK leaders' refusal to accept an international inspection of their nuclear research center. I would not like to refute the North side's claim, because all countries have a right to protect their own interest.

Pyongyang puts forward other new stipulations for an international condition, causing Seoul, Washington, Tokyo, and other capitals to pay attention to a nuclear inspection.

Pyongyang resolutely denies the suspicions that Pyongyang is trying to possess nuclear weapons. Then, is it high time for North Korea to dissipate the doubt? I think that issues arising in connection with North Korea will be resolved in the course of the North-South talks in the long run.

A report of the ROK YONHAP News Agency gives us hope. It is said that, in the course of preparing for the North-South premiers' talks, the North and the South reached the agreement that a clause, which stipulates that Seoul and Pyongyang should give up nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, and bacteriological weapons, should be included.

Such changes will resolve many issues concerning the Korean peninsula, including the issue of nuclear weapons, concludes station commentator Kondrashev.

Group Pickets Japanese Embassy Over Kurils

PM2211143091 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Nov 91 p 1

[A. Zhurba report: "Islands of Contention"]

[Text] Moscow—Recently a Committee for the Defense of the Kurils was formed in Kaliningrad near Moscow, headed by City Soviet Deputy V.P. Shmakov. This organization held a picket of the Japanese Embassy in Moscow last Sunday [17 November].

"As a member of the seaborne assault force in 1945, I liberated South Kurilsk," N.Ye. Levsha, a participant in the picket and member of the Soviet War Veterans Committee, told me. "And when certain politicians start talking about 'historical justice,' this surprises me. Russia discovered the Kuril islands 150 years before Japan and fought the Japanese many times for possession of them. Many Soviet soldiers laid down their lives here, and I consider it blasphemous that the handing over of the islands could now occur."

I had a talk with Shmakov, chairman of the committee.

[Shmakov] Our committee was formed two months ago. It was then that we Russians felt that territories which have been Russian from time immemorial are in grave danger.

[Zhurba] Vladimir Pavlovich, this is apparently your organization's very first major action?

[Shmakov] Yes, this is our "debut." But we announced ourselves somewhat earlier. For instance, RUSSKIY VESTNIK recently published our appeal to B.N. Yeltsin to protect the Kurils against encroachments from without and from within. We believe that the president of Russia is obliged to assist in defending Russian interests in this economically and strategically important region. Our position is that not a single island and not a single rock should be given up.

Hokkaido Governor on Public Opinion on Kurils

PM2211141691 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 91 p 3

[Interview with Takahiro Yokomichi, governor of Hokkaido, conducted by St. Kucher; place and date not given: "But the Islands Are There Today... Takahiro Yokomichi, Governor of Hokkaido, Picks Up the Baton of the Talks on the Kurils"]

[Text] [Kucher] Mr Yokomichi, would you be kind enough to formulate your own personal stance on the question of the "northern territories" and the aim of your—to be frank—quite unexpected visit to Moscow?

[Yokomichi] Fortunately, everyone is now aware that the unresolved problem of the "northern territories" is hindering the further normalization of relations between Japan and the USSR and Japan and Russia in particular. In principle everything is clear and well defined: Until 15 August 1945, 17,000 Japanese lived peacefully on the islands, but after our signing of the Potsdam Declaration Soviet troops came and drove them out. The result was that the Soviet Union was the sole country with which we did not sign a peace treaty. We demand one thing: The restoration to us of ancient Japanese lands—the islands of Habomai, Shikotan, Kunashir, and Iturup. Not all your population understands this, alas—years of one-sided propaganda have had their effect, and my aim here is to shape correct public opinion in the Soviet Union. When your people correctly understand the crux of the problem and the ways of solving it, we will be able to find a solution to the prevailing situation.

[Kucher] Have you already imparted the "correct understanding" of the situation to your partners at the talks in Moscow?

[Yokomichi] Yes, we held talks with Russian parliamentary deputies yesterday.

[Kucher] What specifically did you propose as governor of the island of Hokkaido?

[Yokomichi] You know, we have long-standing links with the Far East. In June of last year we concluded several contracts to create a program for further economic and cultural cooperation. Some 4,000 inhabitants of Hokkaido then visited Sakhalin, and 15,000 inhabitants of Sakhalin came to Hokkaido. This was also discussed at yesterday's talks.

[Kucher] But what is holding up the talks now, when democratic forces have come to power in the USSR? What, for example, is preventing agreement at your present talks in Moscow?

[Yokomichi] Mistaken public opinion. Failure to understand the historical factors. Nationalism is another obstacle. We very much fear the collapse of your country—if the USSR collapses, if, God forbid, Russia collapses, it will be almost impossible to cooperate with you...

[Kucher] Mr Yokomichi, do you know anything about the correspondence between our countries' officials which, if certain of the mass media are to be believed, has been going on for a year now? And if you do, is it true that in one letter the Japanese side directly linked the period of granting credits to the Union to a "positive solution" of the problem of the northern territories?

[Yokomichi] I know nothing about the "correspondence." As fas as aid to the USSR is concerned, we do not consider that it could be linked any way with the problem of the islands.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Envoy Cited on Changed Ties With Cambodia

PM2211161191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 91 Union Edition p 5

["IZVESTIYA Interview" with Yu.N. Myakotnykh, Soviet ambassador to Cambodia, by correspondent B. Vinogradov; in Phnom Penh, date not given: "Our New Role in Cambodia"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Phnom Penh—Much has changed here with the arrival of Norodom Sihanouk and the opening in Phnom Penh of the headquarters of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia. Outwardly this country is now represented by the Supreme National Council alone. A unique situation has arisen—one that has not been encountered previously in world practice and which dictates new principles of relations with this country. I asked Yu.N. Myakotnykh, our ambassador in Phnom Penh, to elucidate some points.

[Vinogradov] Yuriy Nikolayevich, to call the situation in which our embassy in Cambodia finds itself "poignant" would be to say nothing....

[Myakotnykh] The crux of the matter is this: There were two governments—one in Phnom Penh, the other an emigre one. Each one was recognized by different groups of countries. Under the influence of the world community the Cambodians themselves have now reached agreement on national reconciliation and the creation of the Supreme National Council—a coalition organ on which the administration of Hun Sen has half of the 12 seats, and the three opposition groupings have two seats each. Powers have been transferred to this organ in accordance with the Paris documents.

My powers as ambassador to the State of Cambodia came to an end here the moment the Paris agreements were signed, i.e. 23 October. And, respecting the will of the Cambodians, I must now be reaccredited to the Supreme National Council.

[Vinogradov] You were involved in drawing up the UN plan. How do you evaluate the prospects for its fulfillment?

[Myakotnykh] Within the framework of the "Big Five"—the permanent members of the UN Security Council—we will participate in the realization of this plan together with the Cambodians and other countries. An operation of an unprecedented scale and nature lies ahead. But it can already be seen clearly that the work will not be easy.

It has come to light that the different groupings put different interpretations on certain points in the Paris agreements. Hence a mass of misunderstandings. The Khmer Rouge, for example, maintain that the need for the Phnom Penh government has fallen away with the creation of the Supreme National Council and that new organs of power, i.e. branches of the Supreme National Council, must now be set up everywhere. But the Paris documents make no provision for such a capillary structure! The task of the Supreme National Council as a coalition organ is to prepare for elections. Let the people themselves decide to whom to entrust government. But until then the former administration remains in the provinces.

There are also serious doubts about the true intentions of the Khmer Rouge. They are now clearly overstating the number of their troops so as to leave as many forces as possible untouched after the 70-percent reduction. The United Nations must monitor them with the utmost care. And take the problem of returning refugees, emigres' claims to former property, and a multitude of other problems. We reckon that the transitional period will take 18-24 months. And it is dangerous to prolong it. Too much explosive material has been accumulated here. If we slacken the pace, it could all end in big misfortunes, and the United Nations will be no help.

[Vinogradov] What role do you allocate to our country in the UN operation?

[Myakotnykh] Having signed the Paris agreements, we now bear no less responsibility than the other great powers for implementing the plan. And there is no getting away from this responsibility. In addition, we must also protect our national interests in this region.

We have pledged to work in the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia—the UN organ that has been set up here—and are sending three officers to the forward group here. We could help with clearing mines from the frontline zones, since the mines are mainly of Soviet and Chinese manufacture. Our Army has perfected methods for neutralizing these mines. We could provide helicopters and other hardware, thereby reducing our financial contribution. For the funds that will be required for the operation being conducted under UN auspices will be spread out among everyone, but the state of our hard-currency coffers is well known.

[Vinogradov] The Soviet aid to Cambodia after the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime is rated highly by the Cambodians. On what basis will we continue to cooperate, and what about the debts?

[Myakotnykh] Our potential for providing the same aid as before has now been exhausted. We have virtually stopped it. Some projects remain, as well as a small group of specialists, who evidently will be gone by 1 January. Although need we, for example, abandon an entire university in the middle of the academic year... We are switching to a commercial basis with the Cambodians and endeavoring to transfer our projects "smoothly" to UN organizations and to other countries which are somewhat richer, setting up joint firms with them. We are inviting our republics, enterprises, and various private organizations to come here. And there are tremendous opportunities here. There is the idea of selling Cambodian debts to our entrepreneurs, i.e. following the example of Hungarian private operators who have already bought up two-thirds of their state debts and are successfully entering the local market.

It is necessary to establish new ties and not abandon uncompleted projects to the mercy of fate, in order later, when making a profit, to recover what we have invested. And this is in the region of 850 million rubles. This does not include military aid. This was provided gratis...

I must say that businessmen from other countries come here actively and readily. And, of course, no one will wait for us in this race for profitable deals and very promising projects.

Commentary Views Phnom Penh-Sihanouk Alliance

BK2311084691 Moscow Radio Moscow in Cambodian 1100 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Commentary by Viktor Valentinov; read by announcer]

[Text] After the Cambodian Supreme National Council [SNC] moved its office to Phnom Penh, the balance of political forces in the country changed. The alliance between the Phnom Penh Government and the movement led by Samdech Sihanouk's son, Prince Norodom Ranariddh has now been realized. Here are comments by our observer Viktor Valentinov.

The establishment of this new alliance was specified by His Excellency [H.E.] Hun Sen, head of the State of Cambodia's Government, when a few days ago he addressed a news conference in Phnom Penh. Hun Sen pointed out that our alliance is not aimed at opposing any group and has set as its goal the building of stability and social order. In fact, now there is no difference of views in the local and foreign policies of the two sides. This is why they have automatically become allies.

The two sides weighed their words when talking about the movement led by Prince Norodom Ranariddh. It seems that they do not want to even mention that the new alliance has any connection with Samdech Sihanouk's name although in actual fact it is no secret to anyone that this movement was set up and has been led in practice to this day by the samdech himself and not his son. However, from now on, Samdech Sihanouk has regained his supreme title of Cambodia's head of state. By leading the SNC, the samdech seems to be the symbol of national union policy. This is why, taking everything into account, for the samdech, it would be a bit uneasy if his name is linked to this or that party.

As for H.E. Hun Sen, he was correct when he said that the new alliance was established automatically. In his view, there is no difference of views among the two sides. Within the framework of national union, this is heartwarming.

However, on this point, there is another reason which is not loudly talked about but still exists. This is the strength being manifestly expressed by the Khmer Rouge in the past few days. The arrival of Son Sen, head of the Khmer Rouge mission attached to the SNC, was marked almost by humiliation. Following the happy atmosphere which reigned in the Cambodian capital during the welcome for Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Son Sen's arrival was instead marked by increased patrol activities of the security force. At the request of Khmer Rouge leaders, their residence was tightly surrounded by UN troops. As for Samdech Sihanouk, he strongly denounced Khmer Rouge ringleader Pol Pot by demanding that this person be tried by an international court.

In the first round of battle in Phnom Penh, it is clear that the Khmer Rouge have lost. Realizing this situation, the Khmer Rouge started to show their muscle. In the northwestern part of Cambodia, Khmer Rouge troops are being grouped. At the same time, the Khmer Rouge representative in Phnom Penh publicly said that Pol Pot has already secretly reached the northwestern part of the country. If he got there secretly, why publicly talk about it? It seems that this was done with only one purpose, namely to draw people's attention to this so-called secret. The Khmer Rouge representative in Phnom Penh wants to remind people that Pol Pot is now in Cambodia again. And it is apparent that this person is the one leading the Khmer Rouge Armed Forces.

Considering additional, painful comments by people in Phnom Penh resulting from the arrival of the head of the Khmer Rouge mission, one can clearly understand that the alliance between H.E. Hun Sen and Samdech Sihanouk was really automatic. However, there are various alliances. There is a tripartite alliance whose force used to fight againt Cambodia; and now that the war is over, this tripartite alliance has vanished.

At present, it is the turn of a different alliance to play a leading role, an alliance which responds to the task of unifying the Cambodian nation, as stipulated in the Paris agreement, concludes our observer Viktor Valentinov.

Contribution to Cambodian Issue Noted

BK2411030291 Moscow Radio Moscow in Cambodian 1100 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Commentary by Viktor Valentinov; read by announcer]

[Text] The UN General Assembly has just reaffirmed its support for the Paris agreement on a solution to the Cambodian problem. In a resolution adopted a few days ago, the General Assembly appealed to all sides to assist in the free elections there as stipulated in the Paris agreement. Here are comments by our observer Viktor Valentinov.

Along with four other major powers, permanent members of the UN Security Council [UNSC], the Soviet Union has always contributed to the efforts to normalize the situation in Cambodia. Soviet representative always attends meetings of the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia [UNTAC] and helps draft various measures to achieve the Paris agreement. In my view, the Soviet creative influence in Cambodian affairs is especially great.

Unlike other major powers, our Soviet Union has constantly maintained its presence in Cambodia with Soviet specialists, such as in the fields of energy and transport, working there. Their efforts have amply contributed to the cause in which Cambodia has reached the end of the war with a workable energy network and with a working transport system including rail, road, and air transport. The know-how and experience of Soviet specialists can be used to rebuild a peaceful Cambodia.

A great deal of hope has been placed on the Soviet Union when it comes to future cooperation on clearing mines scattered all over Cambodian territory. Our Soviet Union is ready to provide helicopters and other technical equipment necessary to ensure UNTAC activities. It is indeed with mine clearing operations that the United Nations has embarked on its activities in Cambodia.

To prepare the country for free elections, a lot has to be done. First of all, the Cambodian people should be made accustomed to the feeling of security, a feeling which they lost over 20 years ago and which have now apparently forgotten. Soviet military officers will join UN frontline groups in the latter's activities. Among these groups' tasks are the supervision of the respect for the cease-fire in Cambodia, and the counting of various Cambodian parties' troops. As is known, 70 percent of these troops will be demobilized in the near future. UN military personnel will also ensure that various Cambodian parties' troops are separated in order to provide an extra factor to prevent the resumption of fighting.

These are the things which have to be carried out by UN troops in Cambodia. It should be said that the UN administration has no intention of controlling Cambodia. The bulk of power has been handed over to the Cambodian Supreme National Council [SNC] led by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk in his position as head of state. In fact, assistance through every means to normalize life in Cambodia is not just a duty, but also an obligation of the United Nations. This is clearly stated in the Paris agreement.

Strictly abiding by this UN rule, the Soviet Union is also carrying out activities in Cambodia. The obligation our Soviet Union has toward the Phnom Penh Government has been fulfilled. Proof of this is the presentation of credentials by Soviet ambassador accredited to the Cambodian SNC, concludes our observer Viktor Valentinov.

Australia's Evans Meets With Shevardnadze

LD2411065191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0952 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 23 Nov (TASS)—On 14-23 November 1991 Gareth Evans, Australian minister for foreign affairs and trade, was in the Soviet Union on an official visit.

On 21 November, Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, and Gareth Evans, Australian minister for foreign affairs and trade, held talks on issues of Soviet-Australian relations, in the course of which an exchange of opinions on a wide range of international and regional problems took place.

The Australian minister was told in detail about main directions of socioeconomic and political reforms in the Soviet Union and about the situation that is taking shape in the USSR.

Gareth Evans noted that Australia fully supports transformations in the Soviet Union and expresses confidence that current political, economic, and social difficulties will be ovecome.

The Australian minister told about the readiness of his country's government to provide economic and humanitarian aid to the Soviet Union.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the course of development of Soviet-Australian relations and noted availability of good prospects for taking them on a higher level. Possibilities for making cooperation more active in traditional fields—trade, agriculture, fishing, mining industry, and joint ventures, as well as in new spheres of interaction—and creation of modern communications systems and Australian assistance in training specialists of various types in our country.

The Australian minister spoke in favor of developing bilateral relations with the Soviet Union on a union-federation basis, as well as with individual republics and regions, particularly with the Far East.

Gareth Evans confirmed an invitation by the Australian Government for RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin to visit Australia on an official visit in 1992 and he passed invitations to Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, and Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, to visit Australia.

Discussion of international problems confirmed a community of views and approaches to resolving key problems of modern times.

The sides confirmed an intention to develop further cooperation and interaction aiming at increasing the role and effectiveness of the United Nations, assisting in solving disarmament problems, first of all, nuclear and chemical, and seeking ways of providing stability, security, and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region.

Meetings between Gareth Evans and Ivan Silayev, chairman of the interstate economic committee; Gennadiy Burbulis, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Government; Andrey Kozyrev, RSFSR foreign minister; Vladimir Lobov, first USSR deputy defense minister; and Yuriy Luzhkov, prime minister of the Moscow Government, were held in Moscow.

Near East & South Asia

Palestinian Delegation Begins Moscow Visits

LD2211185891 Moscow TASS in English 1828 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Oleg Polovko]

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—The first of two official visits by Palestinian groups started in Moscow today. This delegation has come for a meeting with officials of the Soviet Foreign Ministry and is led by Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, the man who fronted the official Palestinian representation at the Middle East peace conference in Madrid last month.

At a briefing held by the Foreign Ministry, official Soviet spokesman Vitaliy Churkin said the Palestinian delegation's visit marks the Soviet side's determination to continue the Middle East peace process as co-sponsors of the Madrid first stage talks.

Answering questions about an impending visit to the Soviet Union by another group, to include members of the Palestine Liberation Organization's Executive Committee Abu-Mazin [Mahmud 'Abbas] and Yasir 'Abd-al-Rabbuh, Churkin said they will be received "at a high level" and that discussions with Eduard Shevardnadze are likely to take place.

The spokesman asserted at the briefing the Soviet Union intends to continue its contacts with Palestinians "along those lines of communication which have been actively used in the past".

Received by Shevardnadze

OW2311164891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1419 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze remarked on Saturday [23 November] in Moscow after his meeting with a Palestinian delegation, the Middle East settlement is entering "its crucial phase, calling first for bilateral talks, followed by a multilateral meeting of participants in the international conference." The Palestinian delegation is led by Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi who attended the first stage of the Middle East peace conference in Madrid.

The date for the bilateral talks will be set, explained E. Shevardnadze, upon agreement with the Arab and Israeli sides. "That will require another round of consultations, but the process is already under way," stressed the Soviet minister.

A member of the Palestinian delegation—Faysal al-Husayni—representing the Arab population of the Israeli-occupied lands, expressed hope that the USSR should fully carry out the mission it had undertaken in the process of Middle East settlement. A positive role is played, he added, by E. Shevardnadze's return to the post of Soviet foreign minister.

Shevardnadze Comments on Meeting

PM2511112591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 91 Single Edition p 4

[Report by Yu. Glukhov: "E. Shevardnadze: 'No Results Without Countermovement'"]

[Text] "We are entering the most difficult phase—the phase of bilateral talks," USSR External Relations Minister E.A. Shevardnadze told journalists at the end of the Soviet-Palestinian meeting. It took place 23 November in Moscow in the USSR External Relations Ministry. Representatives of the Palestinians who were members of the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation at the Arab-Israeli dialogue, which opened in Madrid, were received here.

As is well known, the Soviet Union is the co-initiator of the Madrid peace process. Its second phase, at the United States' proposal, should open in Washington 4 December. It provides for bilateral talks between Israel and its Arab opponents—the Palestinians, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon.

E.A. Shevardnadze said that at the Soviet-Palestinian meeting in Moscow satisfaction was expressed at the fact that the first stage of the Madrid talks has proceeded relatively successfully. The minister appreciated the flexibility and constructiveness of the Palestinian side and its understanding of all its responsibility to its own people and to the whole region and whole world. I very much hope, he stated, that we will continue to cooperate in this spirit in the future.

"There are no results unless there is a countermovement," E.A. Shevardnadze stressed, noting that active contacts on all aspects of a Near East settlement will develop between the USSR and Israel.

And what are the Palestinians' assessments of the meeting in Moscow?

The talk which took place was very constructive and heralds a good future in our relations, particularly as regards the peace conference, stated Faysal al-Husayni, a member of the Palestinian delegation. We hope that the Soviet Union will play its full part in the peace process. There can be no stability in the Near East without stability in international relations. And here the weight of the Soviet Union is considerable. At the same time stability in the USSR is the backbone of international stability.

Change in Israel's Palestinian Stance Noted

LD2211172991 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS international analyst Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—Important tendencies have appeared in the Middle East's progress to peace. The most reassuring event was the three-day 5th Congress of the Israeli Labour Party, which ended on Thursday [21 November].

The Congress decisions, though somewhat inconsistent, undoubtedly reflect the latest positive shifts in the country's public opinion. Its resolutions called for freezing the construction of Jewish settlements on occupied Arab territories, something vehemently opposed by representatives of the governing Likud bloc and its leader Yitzhaq Shamir. This problem is a stumbling block in relations between Israel and the United States. There was a time when it almost torpedoed the convocation of the Madrid peace conference.

The stand of Israeli labourists vis-a-vis the Palestinians goes even further. They call for the recognition of the "national rights" of the Arab people of Palestine. Unfortunately, the Labour Party's right wing was able to thwart the adoption of an even more cardinal decision, calling for the recognition of the Palestinians' right to self-determination. And, finally, the Congress went on record for the abolition of the law, banning all contacts with the PLO as a "terrorist" organisation.

Many speakers called for territorial concessions in exchange for peace. Hence, it may be concluded that the party has adopted a political platform, which can be regarded as a responsible and serious alternative to Likud's "intractable" course.

And what about Yitzhaq Shamir? The Israeli prime minister, now visiting the United States, spoke there in the usual vein. "We are ready to discuss any problems with the Arabs," he said in an interview with the CNN TV company today. However, addressing other American audiences, Shamir, though pledging his dedication to the cause of peace, rejected the very thought of "exchanging land for peace". Thereby, he doomed the Israeli people to a state of war with their Arab neighbours. Moreover, he said that the "totalitarian regimes", surrounding Israel, were conducting talks only to blunt the vigilance of world public opinion, while dreaming to put an end to Israel by military means.

It is pertinent to note that both U.S. and Israeli political barometers, are indicating stormy or very nasty weather for Likud's Middle East policy. The latest public opinion poll among members of the Jewish community in the United States, the main source of Israel's support from America, shows that 85 per cent of the respondents do not support Shamir's territorial claims and 75 per cent believe the Palestinians should have the right to set up their own state after a few years of self-government, an idea that has always been anathemized by Israeli "hawks".

More than 70 per cent of the respondents want the construction of settlements on Arab territories to be suspended. Most of the Israeli population does not share Shamir's views. Seventy-four per cent of the 90,000 people polled in Israel want the occupied territories to be returned to the Arabs after the conclusion of a peace treaty with them, while 71 per cent want the construction of settlements on those lands to be stopped.

This is the approximate pattern of current political views. Parliamentary elections in Israel are almost one year away. There is no unity in Shamir's coalition. If it splits, new elections to the Knesset will become inevitable. Then the foregoing factors will come into play.

Paper Interviews New Israeli Ambassador

LD2311104191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0155 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 23 Nov (TASS)—"By the end of the year, it will be possible to say that over 300,000 people have left the Soviet Union to take up permanent residence in Israel in the last two years," Arye Levin has stated. He was giving his first interview as Israeli ambassador in Moscow, writes NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, which prints the interview in today's issue of the newspaper.

Assessing the outcome of the Madrid conference, Arye Levin said that what has happened in the Spanish capital is "something we have waited for and sought for a little over forty years, and perhaps much longer. But it is only the beginning, the first stage." In Levin's opinion, colossal efforts will still be needed to make it the beginning of peace negotiations, "the first swallow of the recognition of the sovereign Jewish state, without which there can be no peace in the Near East."

Iranian Foreign Minister on Visit to Moscow

'Pleased' With Shevardnadze's Post

LD2411212191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2015 GMT 24 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Viktor Runov]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 24 Nov (TASS)—[passage omitted] At an improvized news conference at the airport, the Iranian minister said: We are very pleased that Eduard Shevardnadze has been reappointed as head of the Soviet Union's foreign policy establishment. We have long had splendid relations with him. I intend to hold discussions with him on bilateral relations and on international issues. Cooperation between our countries is developing successfully.

Eduard Shevardnadze noted, that Soviet-Iranian relations are capable of providing an example of good-neighborliness.

After a meeting with the USSR president and negotiations with the minister for external relations, it is planned that the Iranian envoy will also meet with the RSFSR leadership.

Velayati will visit Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Azerbaijan. A meeting in Moscow with Georgian representatives is also planned.

Velayati, Shevardnadze Begin Talks

LD2511095791 Moscow TASS in English 0905 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Soviet-Iranian talks opened here today with a one-to-one meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Iranian counterpart 'Ali Akbar Velayati.

Velayati arrived in Moscow on Sunday [24 November] evening. He brought a personal message from President 'ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani of Iran to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Velayati is expected to meet Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar.

The Iranian delegation will also tour several sovereign republics.

Shevardnadze on Amir's Visit, Mideast Talks

PM2211161691 London SAWT AL-KUWAYT AL-DUWALI in Arabic 21 Nov 91 p 1

[Anwar al-Yasin report: "Shevardnadze Says: We Are Seeking To Develop our Security Relations With Kuwait and Exerting Pressure To Implement Security Council Resolutions Against Iraq"]

[Text] Moscow—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has said in his first statement since his reappointment as foreign minister that "the Gulf states will play an important role in the future in strengthening security and stability in the Arabian Gulf region, boosting the peace process, and finding a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Shevardnadze told SAWT AL-KUWAYT that the visit to the Soviet Union by the country's amir, His Highness Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad, was extremely important and succeeded in building a strong foundation of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Kuwait. He added: As a result of the talks, Kuwait will play a prominent role in the process of rebuilding the Soviet economy.

Shevardnadze, who was reappointed foreign minister the day before yesterday [19 November], succeeding Boris Pankin, said: We believe that the Persian Gulf region is no longer a dangerous one. Nevertheless, we must work to develop security cooperation between us so that an experience such as the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait will not be repeated. Shevardnadze, who headed the Foreign Policy Association in the Soviet Union, said that in his talks with the Soviet leadership the country's amir, His Highness Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad, raised the issue of putting pressure on the Iraqi regime to release all Kuwaiti prisoners and possible ways of exerting such pressure. He said: "What I think is that the best method at the moment is to work earnestly, at the domestic level, to enforce implementation of the Security Council resolutions concerning the release of all prisoners."

Asked about his view of the future of the peace negotiations to end the Arab-Israeli conflict, Shevardnadze said: "Extensive meetings are still being held with the United States and at a high diplomatic level to determine the date and venue for the bilateral negotiations between the Arabs and Israel." He said that President Gorbachev briefed Amir Jabir al-Ahmad on the results of the negotiations with the United States so far. Shevardnadze described the opening of the peace conference in Madrid as "a historic occasion." But at the end of his statement to SAWT AL-KUWAYT he warned against "rushing into rash optimism, because patience, perseverance, and tireless work are what are needed now. This, because the talks will be long, difficult, and complicated, and every party is adhering to its own view. But we must all meet each other halfway."

Gorbachev Message Delivered to Indian Leader

LD2411110491 Moscow TASS in English 0945 GMT 24 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksey Polyanskiy]

[Text] New Delhi November 24 TASS—Vadim Medvedev, senior adviser to President Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union, who is currently in India, on Saturday [23 November] attended an international conference in Calcutta on the role of the developing countries in the present- day world.

Notwithstanding difficulties being encountered by the Soviet Union, relations with India remain one of the paramount aspects of its foreign policy, Medvedev said in his speech at the conference. Changes taking place in the USSR will not belittle the role and importance of the country in the international arena, he emphasised.

The senior presidential adviser had earlier attended a "challenges of the 21st century" international conference held in the Indian capital in memory of Indira Gandhi. He delivered a personal message from President Gorbachev to Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao.

POWs Said Fighting With Afghan Mujahidin

LD2211184191 Moscow TASS in English 1444 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—Some Soviet prisoners of war in Afghanistan are voluntarily fighting today on the mujahidins' side, Valeriy Sidorov, a senior official of the Soviet Scientific- Industrial Council, told a press conference in Moscow today.

Claims that there are some 300 POWs kept by the Afghan opposition are a bit exaggerated, said Sidorov, who has just returned from Kabul. He offered money to mujahidin to secure the release of one soldier, but to no avail.

He said there are about 30-40 real POWs left, others have settled down in Pakistan, have now their own families there and have accepted Islam. It is unbelievable, Sidorov added, but some Soviet soldiers became leaders of mujahidin forces.

Some 220-250 soldiers are considered to be lost in action, which implies most of them are dead, Sidorov said.

The list of those missing and POWs should be thoroughly checked once more. The Afgans promised to help, he added.

The envoy has killed the hope of many Soviet mothers who thought the recent talks with mujahidin in Moscow would have helped to secure their sons' release from captivity. Negotiations will be long and difficult, Sidorov thinks.

The mujahidin should not have pledged in Moscow to help return Soviet POWs since most of them are kept by field commanders in Afghanistan, who know that POWs are a valuable commodity, according to the official. It was the Afghan president who ordered to buy out 7 Soviet soldiers, he disclosed, adding that it was a costly deal.

Hundreds of thousands of dollars are needed to create a special fund to pay for the release of Soviet POWs, Ruslan Aushev, president of Afghan Veterans Committee, told the press conference. Only the Soviet president will have the right to use the money, he added.

U.S.-Pakistan Relations, Affect Assessed

BK2311121591 Moscow Radio Moscow in Urdu 1100 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Vasant Georgiyev commentary]

[Text] At the U.S.-Pakistan talks in Islamabad, Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan appealed to the U.S. side to understand the security concerns of his country. Vasant Georgiyev writes in this regard:

The Pakistani president's appeal came during his meeting with U.S. Central Command Chief General Hoar who appears to have responded positively to this call, because according to Gen Hoar, the United States wants to restore U.S.-Pakistan relations to the 1979-80 level. Why did the U.S. general point only to the 1979-80 years? This is because in 1979-80, when the U.S.-Pakistan relationship had reached its zenith, an agreement was signed between the two countries in recognition of Islamabad's role in Afghan affairs, in which much attention was paid to bilateral military relations. It was at that time when Pakistan became a strategic ally of the United States and the Islamabad authorities tried their very best to come up to the expectations of the Washington administration. Pakistan was then turned into the most important base for military activities against the Kabul government. Afghan opposition camps and bases were established in areas adjoining Afghanistan and most of the U.S.-supplied arms and material assistance were dispatched to these areas.

But, following the Geneva accords and the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the situation in that country changed and the process of settling the Afghan tangle got under way. At the same time, Pakistan's role in Washington's regional policies also underwent a change. The Washington authorities then started looking at Islamabad's nuclear program with a new angle and suspended U.S. military aid to the country since October last year following apprehensions about the peaceful nature of its nuclear program. Gen Hoar's remarks indicate that even though Pakistan does not intend to abandon its nuclear program, the U.S. Administration is ready to adopt a softer attitude toward military cooperation with Islamabad. If the United States continues its arms supplies to Pakistan, it will inevitably provoke India's reaction, which will unleash a new phase of the arms race between the two neighboring South Asian countries, thereby increasing tension in the entire region.

West Europe

Delegation Meets in London on Near East Peace

LD2211212391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1052 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] 22 Nov (TASS) [dateline as received]—Soviet-British consultations on the Near East have been held in London. Taking part were USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A. Belonogov and D. Gore-Booth, assistant to Britain's permanent under secretary of state for foreign affairs.

The focus of attention was issues concerning the continuation of the peace process begun by the Madrid conference on the Near East. The sides stressed their mutual desire that bilateral talks should be resumed as soon as possible and multilateral ones started. The British side expressed interest in taking part directly in the latter.

The sides involved in the consultations confirmed their intention to continue their close collaboration within the framework of the UN Security Council on the problems of the aftermath of the Gulf war. The British side expressed gratitude for Soviet assistance in securing the release of British citizen I. Richter who had been detained in Iraq.

German Minister Comments on Shevardnadze Role

LD2511100591 Moscow TASS in English 0950 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Semyonov]

[Text] Bonn November 25 TASS—In his time as Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze was personified the struggle for perestroyka, confidence-building measures and a new image of the Soviet Union in the eyes of the external world, German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said in a commentary published in the BILD AM SONNTAG newspaper today.

From the very beginning of our cooperation, Genscher says, we were at one in our confidence that Europe, once fragmented, would become one whole again. Shevardnadze and I became friends during the two-plus-four talks.

On the morning of the putsch in Moscow, we found him on the side of those who, like himself, have struggled for democracy and law all the time. The historic process of transformations in the Soviet Union needs strong personalities to move it ahead. Eduard Shevardnadze is one of them. That he undertook to accomplish this hard task testifies to his great sense of responsibility as a statesman. As a colleague and friend, I express my deep respect for him, the German minister said.

Aid Tied to Extradition of Honecker, Tiedge

LD2411153291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1114 GMT 24 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Semenov]

[Text] Bonn, 24 Nov (TASS)—A number of German political figures are in favor of linking future aid to Russia with the extradiction of former GDR leader Erich Honecker and Hans-Joachim Tiedge, former member of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (counterespionage), who worked for the GDR and who is now taking refuge in the Soviet Union.

Hans Stercken (Christian Democratic Union), chairman of the parliamentary foreign affairs commission, stated in an interview to the newspaper BILD AM SONNTAG that along with giving aid to Russia, we have to insist on the expulsion of Honecker. The same applies to Tiedge.

Hans Gottfried Bernrath (Social Democratic Party), chairman of the parliamentary home affairs committee, said in an interview to the same newspaper: "We will gladly help Russia. The federal government has to insist that the Moscow leadership should extradite Honecker to Germany as a reciprocal move. Tiedge should also not take refuge in Moscow or anywhere else, but must be arraigned before the court."

Otto Regenspurger, Bundestag deputy from the Christian Social Union, underlined that it goes without saying that we will help the Russians who are in a difficult situation. But in this instance we can say: Friends, we are helping you. Help us in return. This is a matter of common decency. It is for this reason that I expect Russia to expel Mr. Honecker and Mr. Tiedge so that they can be arraigned before the court here. They both have commited crimes against mankind and should not avoid punishment.

Deputy Defense Minister Ends Visit to Sweden

LD2411050991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1830 GMT 22 Nov 91

[TASS correspondent Igor Revyakin]

[Text] Stockholm, 22 Nov (TASS)—Colonel General Vladimir Semenov, commander in chief of the ground forces and USSR deputy minister of the defense, has ended his official visit to Sweden. He met Bengt Gustafsson, the commander in chief of the Swedish Armed Forces, and other Swedish military commanders, visited a number of the country's military districts, observed field firing exercises at the training center of the land forces, and familiarized himself with the organization of military training and the daily life of servicemen from some units.

In a conversation with TASS, Col. Gen. V. Semenov declared that "in Sweden we met openness and cordiality everywhere". According to him, the members of the delegation got the impression that the command of the Swedish Armed Forces was interested in developing military contacts with the Soviet Union. He said that, for example, B. Gustafsson expressed a wish to fill bilateral cooperation with new contents and mentioned the possibility of mutual exchange of junior officers for training purposes.

The Soviet military commander stressed that the contacts between our countries have a tendency to become broader. The deepening of mutual understanding in the questions of security between the USSR and Sweden will be conducive to stabilising and improving the situation in the whole northern European region.

Lobov Cited on Relations With Finnish Military

LD2311043691 Moscow TASS in English 1550 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondents Vladimir Dodonov and Aleksandr Surikov]

[Text] Helsinki November 22 TASS—Soviet and Finnish military signed a two-year plan of joint activities during the visit of the Chief of Staff of Soviet Armed Forces Vladimir Lobov to Finland.

The general told TASS today [22 November] relations with Finnish colleagues are developing at a good pace and in all directions.

Lobov said he is sure control over Soviet nuclear weapons will remain with the centre. If any republic seceding from the Soviet Union has nuclear arms on its territory, it will not be able to use them because the weapons are guarded by complex codes, cyphers and systems, he said.

Barranikov Meets French Counterpart in Paris

LD2311145591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1934 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Irina Golubeva]

[Text] Paris, 22 Nov (TASS)—A meeting between the internal affairs ministers of France and the USSR, Philippe Marchand and Viktor Barannikov, who are participating in a conference on issues of combatting crime being held in Versailles, took place here today.

The ministers exchanged opinions on a wide range of questions, and in particular on questions of power distribution in the USSR and on France's projects in the field of internal security. The sides confirmed their readiness to continue cooperation between the two departments. Barannikov invited his French colleague to visit the Soviet Union in 1992.

Latin America & Caribbean

Talks on Withdrawal From Cuba at 'Impasse'

LD2511144391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] The negotiations in Havana on the withdrawal of a Soviet training brigade from Cuba seem to have reached an impasse. The Ministry of External Relations has confirmed that the delegation has already returned to Moscow, with the exception of its head, special envoy Vyacheslav Ustinov, and a few experts. We exchanged opinions on this issue and the negotiations will be continued, one of the Soviet diplomats said, avoiding any comment. According to unofficial sources, the difficulties at the talks arose in connection with the fact that the Cuban side is linking the question of the withdrawal of the 3,000 Soviet military personnel with the elimination of the U.S. Guantanomo base situated on the island. According to unconfirmed data, the Soviet delegation did not consider this link acceptable and proposed carrying out the withdrawal of its troops in several stages. The first of these could start as soon as December of this year. Havana has not yet responded to this proposal.

Parliamentary Delegation Tours South America

Ends Visit to Brazil

LD2511073691 Moscow TASS in English 0712 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] Brasilia November 25 TASS—The Soviet parliament delegation's official visit to Brazil is over.

During a seven-day visit at the invitation of Brazil's National Congress, the Soviet delegation, led by Yuriy Voronezhtsev, deputy chairman of the parliament's Council of the Union, was received by the country's Vice-President Itamar Franco, familiarised themselves with the work of parliament, met parliamentary leaders and had talks with foreign and economics ministers.

The delegation also had meetings with local officials and businessmen.

Arrives in Peru

LD2511132791 Moscow TASS in English 1200 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Fedorov]

[Text] Lima November 25 TASS—In a new leg of their tour of South American countries, a delegation of Soviet parliamentarians led by deputy chairman of the Soviet parliament's Council of the Union Yuriy Voronezhtsev arrived in Lima today at the invitation of the Peruvian parliament.

During their stay in Peru, delegation members will exchange experience of parliamentary activity and familiarize themselves with the specific features of economic reform in this Latin American country.

"Of special interest to us is the problem of legislative basis for economic transformations," Voronezhtsev told TASS.

The Soviet delegation has already visited Brazil.

Supreme Soviet

Gorbachev Speech Said 'Stylistically' Different

PM2111160991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 91 pp 1, 3

[A. Pankratov report: "Who Will Listen to the President? In the Country's Supreme Soviet Yesterday Mikhail Gorbachev Described the Political Situation As Close to Disaster"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] After his speech M. Gorbachev gave an interview in the lobby of the Supreme Soviet to a small group of journalists. "He is giving interviews," muttered a deputy on his way out of the hall, "and some people are still listening to him...."

Indeed, yesterday's speech by the president was notable for an abundance of specific information and its tough statement of the critical nature of the situation. Only in one place—on the subject of the fate of the Union state—was the speaker carried away by emotions and sidetracked onto the well-known theses about how the whole world is intergrating and searching for points of contact, without this we will perish, and so on and so forth. The famous catchwords slipped in—"up in the air," "hard lesson," "rid ourselves of illusions." But stylistically, yesterday's speech was nevertheless different: Gorbachev is no longer making a choice, is no longer turning on the rhetorician's charm, no longer promising perestroyka successes. He is working. And, perhaps, he is one of the few who still believes that the situation can be rectified.

But are we listening to him? As before, a prophet is not without honor, save in his own country....

Deputies Said To Pursue Interests, Benefits

PM2211154191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

["Viewpoint" article by Parliamentary Observer Robert Minasov: "The Privileged Do Not Need a Privileges Commission"]

[Text] The first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet is taking its usual course. "The conditions in which we are working are no good at all"—that is the opinion of Yu. Kalmykov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union's Legislation Committee, an opinion which, maybe, accurately reflects the situation in the country's supreme legislative body. Not without bitterness, Yuriy Khamzatovich added the following: "Our rating is actually lower than that of the previous Supreme Soviet. We are into our fourth week now of marking time, deciding trivial, petty matters, that is, aside from our consideration and adoption of the law on an amnesty for servicemen. Yet the country, rent by extremely bad sociopolitical and economic problems, is waiting for us to do something."

How shall I put it.... Apparently, many members of the Soviet of the Union do not consider at all petty or pointless the matters they spent the bulk of yesterday's morning sitting considering. For example, you had the following: "On guarantees and compensation for USSR people's deputies in connection with being released from the performance of official duties in the USSR Supreme Soviet and its bodies."

Now there's a problem for you. And the Soviet of the Union members returned to it after they had sent the draft resolution off for completion on 13 November.

The first point in the resolution is bewildering, to put it mildly: "USSR people's deputies released from the performance of official duties on a permanent basis in the USSR Supreme Soviet and its organs **WILL RECEIVE A LUMP-SUM PAYMENT EQUAL TO THREE MONTHS' PAY**". Although the resolution does not make clear why those members who would only appear in the Supreme Soviet hall of sittings when they heard the all-hands-on-deck signal, when a constructive idea needed to be blocked, or, for example, the passage of a conservative idea needed to be backed, get the same generous incentives as those who really did bust a gut in the sphere of lawmaking. And it has to be said that basically not one of the 100 laws and resolutions adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet since 1989 is operating on the territory of the former Union. And why give the legislator's incentives?

But the creators of the draft resolution go further. The period for which they retain their pay and uninterrupted service is increased from three to six months—compared, that is, with the existing legislation (Article 26 of the "Fundamentals of Legislation on Employment of the Population").

Here you have a graphic illustration of the fact that legislative acts adopted by the Supreme Soviet are by no means binding even as far as implemention by the Supreme Soviet is concerned.

Aside from all the "trivial" guarantees, there is one that is most striking. The present membership of the Soviet of the Union was kind enough to cut the [deputies'] pensionable age to 58 for men and 53 for women.

Therefore they have been overworked. No wonder, when you consider all the fussing with special stores, special clinics, special trips, and Moscow passes, the tedium of waiting for cars, foreign business trips.... Obviously the deputies' health has been thoroughly undermined.

So what they are concerned about is themselves.

There were rather lengthy polemics at yesterday's sitting about the entry into effect of the resolution on guarantees. Should the former members of the Supreme Soviet be deemed to have been released on 21 October or on 20 November? A not unimportant detail. We are talking in fact about the start of the period of retention of pay and uninterrupted service.

They voted once, twice... and stretched it out until 20 November.

At the same time the entire Privileges Commission was "dismissed," so there would be no prying into other people's business. There was no support for the proposal by the commission's deputy chairman, Nikolay Kozyrev, on extending its powers. And the latest materials on the use of motor vehicles by people's deputies, personnel of the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat, and former ministers and deputy chairmen, which had been submitted by Kozyrev for consideration, were left untouched, without any evaluation being made.

But should one marvel at the unscrupulousness of that section of the parliamentary body that is concerned most of all at the moment with its own fate, its own selfish interests?

According to Soviet of the Union Chairman Konstantin Lubenchenko, Gorbachev—at a meeting with the former and with Soviet of the Republics Chairman Anuarbek Alimzhanov—agreed to speak today at a joint sitting of the two USSR Supreme Soviet chambers on budget and finance questions. Well, having seen to their own privileges, the deputies will no doubt listen without emotion to their president on the question, no matter what catastrophes he informs them of....

Unemployment Among Deputies Discussed

PM2111114491 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 91 p 1

[Aleksandr Nikitin report: "Some to the Employment Exchange, Some to Austria: At the USSR Supreme Soviet Session"]

[Text] Yesterday's sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union was undeniably sad. Wishes were expressed repeatedly that something should be done to ensure that this time the people's deputies do not end up waiting in line at... the employment exchange. What has upset the people's servants?

The transitional period has finally come home to the parliamentarians themselves. The change in the composition of the Supreme Soviet has led to the need to release some of the deputies early from their official duties on a permanent basis in the Soviet itself and its organs.

Formerly, no doubt, this would have caused no particular concern, but now.... A heated, though brief, debate broke out during the discussion of the resolution of guarantees and compensations for these deputies. A one-shot discharge payment equivalent to three months' wages does not solve everything, it transpires.

But this question was probably more worrying: How can we ensure that in present conditions the status of people's deputy does not turn into the status of unemployed? Not everyone can go back to his old job, many of those jobs have been abolished. So they decided to exempt deputies from registering with the employment service that they themselves once voted to set up. But what if they do not find a job in three months? Their wages and continuous service record may be preserved for up to six months. So is this yet another privilege?

And should it be allowed? At the same sitting it was proposed to examine materials submitted by the commission on questions of privileges and benefits. But the September draft resolution once again remained no more than a draft. Not only that, but apparently there are moves to fold up not only this commission, but a number of others, too.

Yu. Kalmykov, chairman of the Committee on Legislation, observed that at the sittings the deputies keep coming back to the same questions. There is no work plan. The committees have submitted proposals to the speaker of the chamber, but he... has gone to Austria.

The question of K. Lubenchenko's trip to Austria was postponed for the time being. The sitting lasted less than one and a half hours. Can it be true that parliament will soon really be unemployed?

Rehabilitation of Repression Victims Discussed

LD2211130691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1810 GMT 20 Nov 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Nov (TASS)—Parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov report from the Kremlin that the draft law "On the Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repressions and the Procedure for the Restoration of the Rights of Those Rehabilitated" was examined today at a plenary session of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This draft law has already been adopted in a first reading by the old parliament, and deputies have now returned to it.

Andrey Sebentsov, deputy chairman of the Committee for Legislation, presenting the draft law in its completed form, noted that the process of the rehabilitation of the victims of political repressions has been going on for some 40 years or so, yet over a million cases have still to be examined. There are a number of reasons for this, not the least important of which is the absence at the Union level of an appropriate act of legislation, although similar laws are already operating in a number of republics.

The draft Union law provides for the rehabilitation of all people not previously rehabilitated who were subjected to political repression in the period from 1922 to 1958 or convicted by courts of the USSR and the republics on charges of political crimes, excluding those who have been justly convicted or whose cases contain indisputable proof of the perpetration of such crimes as treason, armed rebellion, or incursion into Soviet territory for counterrevolutionary purposes, espionage, acts of terrorism, or subversion. The accomplices of traitors and fascist occupying forces and the organizers of armed nationalist gangs are not subject to rehabilitation.

Those who have been rehabilitated will have their social and civilian rights, which were denied in connection with the repressions, restored to them, along with their military or special titles and their orders and medals.

The law adopted by the chamber makes it encumbent upon the state security bodies and the bodies of the internal affairs and the procurator's office, at the request of relatives, to report to them about the fate of those who were shot or who died in freedom deprivation areas, and to render them and the public organizations assistance in determining the burial sites of the victims of the repressions.

Political & Social

Further Reportage on Gorbachev's Tour

PM2211135091 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 91 p 1

[Report by TASS and PRAVDA correspondent V. Yermolayev: "President on Siberian Soil"]

[Text] Irkutsk—Several times en route to Irkutsk the country's president, M. Gorbachev, revised the schedule for his meetings with the Siberians. It was only when the final version had been produced that he explained his plans to the journalists on board: "I don't want to say a great deal here. I will try to listen to people more. Now is not the time for lengthy speeches."

The president stressed that this is an ordinary working trip. However everything Gorbachev said is clear evidence of what alarms and possibly even angers the head of state now: namely the loss of momentum at the most difficult and crucial stage in the changes in the life of society and every person. He is convinced that people realize that radical reforms are needed, but their sluggishness in implementing these reforms only aggravates the situation in which the country has found itself.

This situation is critical. And the president harbors no illusions as to how the people regard the situation. "I know that people will direct many harsh words my way. They're having a hard time."

In order to get things moving all strata of society must collaborate and there must be a social partnership. "We must trust and meet one another halfway," he believes. Only then are real transformations possible, transformations for which many sacrifices have been made.

Giving his view of the support from all those working for the good of society, the peasant, the cooperative worker, and the entrepreneur, Mikhail Gorbachev dwelt in particular on the need to create a reliable support for state enterprise personnel.

The effectiveness of the economic reforms depends directly on their political security. This idea made the president return to the recent State Council session that discussed the new version of the Union treaty.

"The rebirth of Novo-Ogarevo was agony," M. Gorbachev said. "As a person hardened by politics and all its surprises, I don't dramatize anything, but I want to give you an insight into what was debated in camera with no press present," the president went on.

...The president's working day in Irkutsk was full to bursting. M. Gorbachev began his acquaintance with Irkutsk with a visit to a secondary school where classes began this fall. The head of state went into classes and spoke to pupils and teachers.

The problems of conversion, its social and economic aspects were the focus of the president's attention during his visit to one of the largest enterprises in the country's defense complex—the Irkutsk Aircraft Association. After conversations in the workshops the head of state met with representatives of the large labor collective. M. Gorbachev answered various questions from the aircraft builders.

The president then inspected a number of trading enterprises. Among them a food store which the workers have privatized and which, according to the president, operates better than many state trading outlets.

In the evening there was a meeting-cum-conference with M. Gorbachev at the House of the Soviets. Oblast and City Soviet deputies gathered in the hall, along with enterprise leaders. Yu. Nozhikov, head of the Angar region administration; V. Ignatenko, chairman of the oblast soviet of people's deputies, and others spoke about the difficulties and prospects for the development of the region and the rational use of natural resources.

M. Gorbachev delivered a speech in conclusion. He spoke about the most important tasks that must be tackled at this crucial period for the country. The main one being to effect radical socioeconomic transformations more rapidly and more effectively and do one's utmost to strengthen the union of sovereign states. The USSR president answered numerous questions from Siberians.

Privatization, Conversion Discussed

PM2211214591 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 23 Nov 91 p 1

[Report by special correspondent Anatoliy Yurkov: "Applause Sounded Sensational at Irkutsk Aircraft Plant When Mikhail Gorbachev Finished Answering Questions"]

[Text] To be honest we did a double take; both journalists and the president's aides. Only wise Georgiy Shakhnazarov was unruffled, as ever. It sounds ridiculous, but it is a long time since any of his compatriots gave

President Gorbachev sincere applause, thinking: We trusted you, we relied on you, and what did you do?

What indeed?

At the end of the first day of his stay in Irkutsk there was sincere laughter in the audience, which included all levels of people's deputies and oblast economic leaders, when someone asked:

"Did you not come here, Mikhail Sergeyevich, for the reason hinted at by corresponding member Pavel Bunich?"

"What did he hint at?"

"That you came to pacify the Irkutsk Republic, which declared its autonomy a few days ago?

"Well, did I pacify it?"

The laughter had not yet subsided when a cheery voice piped up:

"What, did we declare autonomy?"

The merriment reached its peak when another voice chimed in:

"Bunich knows everything about everyone. If he said so, it must be true."

Laughter aside, it is now almost fashionable to badmouth the country's president, people have started commenting on his work as they would on a soccer match and, as is well known, we all know much more than the coaches and the referees.

But the president himself appears to react to this like the president of a country should: He explains, explains, and explains his policy, his steps, and the policy of reforming the Russian leadership, revealing his support for it. Only when someone tries out his wit, particularly about the "president of a nonexistent state," does Gorbachev reply in the way he did in the hall:

"It is pointless trying to jab me between the ribs. I have no ribs left, it is one solid piece of armor."

But what did he do? Why did the plant workers applaud Mikhail Sergeyevich?

There is a view that the main opposition to Gorbachev and his policy of transformations is in the military-industrial complex. It is said that by ordering conversion to begin he left thousands of labor collectives and military plants without funds and deprived them of the privileges they had enjoyed. There were questions of that kind today, as well. And the president did not duck them. He answered toughly, sometimes not harshly.

Yes, he said, we have a concentration of highly qualified experts of all levels at military-industrial complex enterprises. For fear of the military threat we used to take the shirt off our own back to strengthen the country's defense might. The more we strengthened it, the more we invested in it. The more we invested, the firmer became the stranglehold on our economy exerted by the military octopus' deadly tentacles, sucking the blood of large families and invalids, of the health service and construction, of the economies of cities and villages. And the more human sweat it drank down, the more aggressive it became. At some stage the strengthening of defense might became an aim in itself, fleecing not only the "civilian" sectors, but the officers themselves. Thousands of their families were left out in the cold, with their lives and well-being neglected for the sake of extra missiles or tanks.

As for tanks, Mikhail Sergeyevich cited a figure which I believe convinced many and won him supporters.

"Some 64,000 tanks were produced," he said, answering a pointed question about "surrendering positions." "That is more than all the countries of the world put together."

Having said that, he thought for a moment and then looked at the audience and added:

"Now we do not know what to do with them. Or with the tank plants. It will take a colossal amount of money to convert them..."

He did not say there was no money to be had. He first consoled a weeping woman who had "borne children to her cost," and now was unable even to buy bread because of the enormous waiting lines.

"You have to switch to civil production," he told the workers and engineers, directors and designers. "We have permitted you to go into the world market with two brand new aircraft, the SU-27 and MiG-29. So, earn hard currency and convert to civil production."

"Mikhail Sergeyevich," the questions were coming thick and fast. "An interesting situation: You always used to value the skillful hands of the workers, now it is the dealers, the brokers, the buyers. How come?"

"I disagree," came Gorbachev's rebuttal. "On the way here we called in at a new school, talked with the senior students—nearly one-half of them will be specializing in economics. And I am glad—you will not build market relations without such specialists. Just as you will not have modern production without skillful hands. But remember to restructure yourselves, change your attitude toward business people—without them the sick economy is not going to get well."

"You are president of a big country, how can we go on, tell us that? There is nothing in the state stores, while the commercial stores are laden. But women's boots cost 3,000 rubles. Where can I get that kind of money to provide my family with boots? Three times my pay would not buy a pair..."

Gorbachev remained calm. He is prepared to have a constructive discussion both with President Yeltsin and with fitter Ivanov.

"Yes, the producer who makes the products for the market has to have just as much incentive as the seller of the commodity gives himself."

Gorbachev's Irkutsk dialogues revealed one very authoritative viewpoint on a tough question for society: privatization of trade enterprises. The debate participants—workers, economists, managers, bankers—were clear: Privatize the stores first and you enrich those who distribute the goods. That will provoke a response on the part of the producer, who will be forced to increase the prices of his goods to avoid becoming poor. The one who distributes the goods—the store owner—will respond in the same way.

The emerging civilized market prevents this price spiral.

As we were leaving the plant one of the president's aides was asked:

"Where is Medvedev with his briefcase containing the nuclear war button? There are all kinds of rumors, including in the press."

"Medvedev is not here," he replied. "He was not in the aircraft, in fact."

"But there is a button," an aide said reassuringly. "There in that briefcase. Valeriy Pestov and it have been inseparable. Since August..."

Let us consider why certain people are trying to make society suspicious and nervous, as if unintentionally trying to focus the suspicion on the president or on those around him.

After the aircraft plant the president paid a visit that was dear to his heart: Mikhail Sergeyevich went to the children's hospital, where $350,000 from the royalties for his book, published abroad, had gone. It seemed very sensible to me. The country's president wants to know and see for himself how his gift is being used.

It is being used well. They have bought some splendid foreign equipment to prevent young citizens from dying prematurely. They were also practical. They handed Gorbachev a list of the things they still need. Calculated to a round sum in dollars...

And he won some applause at the end of all the meetings. Someone had sent him a malicious note: Is not the purpose of your unexpected trip to Irkutsk to recruit Siberian business people for the struggle against the leaders of the sovereign republics?

"No, that is not the purpose," Gorbachev firmly replied. And he decided to say no more on the subject.

"I go to Baykal tomorrow," he said in farewell. "There will be a meeting of scientists and ecologists. We will consider how to help it."

Baykal has been waiting for a long time.

Roundup of Siberian Tour

PM2211134491 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Nov 91 p 1

[Report by TASS special correspondents V. Grishchenko and V. Khodiy: "Frank Talks With the Siberians. M.S. Gorbachev's Visit to Irkutsk"]

[Text] Yesterday many inhabitants of Irkutsk had the opportunity to talk to the country's president about everything that worries and concerns them. Mikhail Gorbachev, who arrived here late last night, made his working day as busy as possible despite the five-hour time difference.

The fact that the head of state is putting social problems first was confirmed when he familiarized himself with one of the city's schools, where approximately 1,500 pupils started their first school year this fall. The comfortable building, which compares favorably with typical buildings, was erected with the help of the city's people and enterprises.

Mikhail Gorbachev visited classes and recreational areas, and he talked to the school children and their tutors and leaders. Special attention was devoted to the problems involved in improving the secondary education system. Education is one of the main priorities for a society embarking on the path of radical transformations, the president stressed.

M. Gorbachev's conversations in the shops of a leading enterprise in the defense complex—the Irkutsk Aircraft Building Association—which went on for almost two hours, again prove how complex and extensive is the problem of converting even progressive production units in a sphere which the country spent many years creating, paying the price of self-restraint and sacrifices.

The transfer of part of the capacities to the manufacture of civilian output, which both the people and the economy need very much, is accompanied not just by technical, but also serious social changes. The association's large skilled collective is in a feverish state, the order file is getting thinner all the time, and the prospects are not clear.

This is why the majority of the questions to the president concerned conversion. Having heard what many workers, engineers, and designers had to say, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the importance of regulating the conversion process. He said that the enterprise can only make a profit by speeding up the production of aircraft for civil and special aviation, to which the world market will be open as well as the domestic market if it is of high quality. The association has possibilities for this.

Arkadiy Volskiy, a member of the president's team and head of the country's Science and Industry Union, told your TASS correspondents that one of the things that will accelerate the association's change of direction is international partnership. "Our union intends to promote its development," he said.

There was also no end to the questions that Mikhail Gorbachev had to answer during his meeting with representatives of the large labor collective. These concerned the most varied aspects in the life of society and the country, and world events. The president informed the aviation construction workers of work on the new version of the Union treaty, progress being made in political reforms, the future of our state system, and obstacles that appear on this path.

The following question was asked among others: How do we intend to go on? How can people keep a family in the face of the high prices, inflation, and scarcity of goods?

We have only one realistic answer, one solution to this very difficult situation, the president said. To give incentives to the worker who manufactures output, and to pour capital into the sectors working for the market and for the consumer.

Judging by the sentiments expressed by participants in the meeting, the Siberians are worried by problems involving the country's internal and external debt, not everything is yet clear as regards the privatization mechanism, tougher demands to end rampant crime are being made, and people are thinking seriously of their social status and the working person's prestige in society.

The head of state was asked several times about his attitude to the CPSU. Mikhail Gorbachev gave a detailed answer to these questions and returned to the split and the intraparty struggle that were recently exacerbated and to the attempts made by reactionary forces in the CPSU to break off the radical transformations that are supported by the majority of the people. Such confrontation, he stressed, inevitably led to the putsch. "I have maintained and still maintain that millions of ordinary party members were not implicated in this," the president stressed.

His prediction regarding the bitter words that people were preparing to say to him was fully justified when Mikhail Gorbachev familiarized himself with the city's trade enterprises. The empty shelves and the waiting lines were not conducive to calm conversation. The situation in a privatized store was marginally better. But at the moment such experience is still rare here.

The transition to the market raises the particularly pertinent question of the social protection of the elderly. The president expounded his vision of a mechanism for such protection at a meeting with Siberian veterans.

Lake Baykal Problems Addressed

PM2511101391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Nov 91 Union Edition pp 1,2

[Report by IZVESTIYA special correspondents G. Alimov and V. Sbitnev: "M. Gorbachev Leaves Irkutsk for Bishkek"]

[Text] President M. Gorbachev earmarked a few hours out of the schedule for his stay in Irkutsk to discuss with Siberian scientists, ecologists, "Green" movement activists, and economic leaders the problems of Lake Baykal which, despite all the lengthy discussions, are being virtually ignored.

M. Gorbachev had a chance to learn firsthand—from scientists from the Irkutsk Academy of Sciences Center—how Baykal is being damaged by the unrestrained economic activity of various agencies. M. Grachev, director of the Limnology Institute; G. Galaziya, director of the Baykal Ecological Museum; oblast leaders, and ecological specialists provided detailed explanations.

The president was familiarized with the project dubbed "Lake Baykal—the Planet's Well." The crux of this project is to pour pure Baykal water into plastic bottles and sell it for hard currency to other countries where increasing quantities of drinking water are artificially produced. Baykal is large and capable of providing the entire planet with natural water.

But the wide-scale implementation of this project is a long way off. Several important tasks must be accomplished in order for Baykal to be able to earn hard currency, which it is then planned to channel into preserving the natural environment in the region. The first is to close down the Baykal pulp and paper combine, whose conversion was planned back in 1987 with the well-known CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution, signed by M.S. Gorbachev. The second task is to formulate and adopt a special Russian law on Baykal. The president stressed that one can no longer get away with resolutions that resolve nothing—a law is needed to determine general principles governing the exploitation of nature in the Baykal region. While the third problem is to establish strict environmental procedures in those industrial centers that are today poisoning not only the air, water, and soil but also the people living there.

A considerable amount of the president's day was spent on the edge of the "planet's well"—he had a meeting here with specialists and gave a news conference for local journalists, at which some of the questions also concerned the problem of clean water and the conservation of life in it. M. Gorbachev left for the airport from there and flew to Bishkek.

During the morning he had visited the Irkutsk Higher Military Aviation Engineering School, which trains skilled specialists for the country's Air Force. Here Mikhail Sergeyevich inspected training classes, spoke to officer teachers, and voiced his thoughts on the development of unified Armed Forces on a part-professional and professional basis. He said that the Soviet Armed Forces constitute a stabilizing factor both within and outside the country.

...Answering questions from journalists at a news conference, M. Gorbachev said that this trip to Siberia, to Irkutsk—albeit brief—had enabled him to get a more accurate picture of certain processes currently under way in the country. Even the Siberians, he remarked, who are known for their firm character, are at the end of their patience. The country's president believes that the economic reform begun in the country and in Russia is bound to improve the situation in the near future.

News Conference in Baykal

PM2411220391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 91 p 1

[Report by correspondent V. Yermolayev: "From Shores of Baykal to Mountains of Kyrgyzstan. M.S. Gorbachev's Visit Continues"]

[Text] Irkutsk—On the second day of his visit to the Angara region M. Gorbachev toured the settlement of Listvenichnoye after a brief meeting at the Irkutsk Higher Military Air Engineering School. Here, on the shore of the "famous sea," is where the Limnological Institute and the Baykal Ecological Museum are located. The guest listened keenly to the commentary by museum director G. Galaziy, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and asked a considerable number of questions.

"None of the resolutions on protecting the lake basin has been carried out" the scientist said bitterly. "Meanwhile the timber chemistry staffers of the Baykal Pulp and Paper Combine are boasting: Our effluents are the cleanest in the world."

"Then the pulp workers should have them back rather than discharge them into the water reservoir, and then obtain recycled fresh water from them," the president noted reasonably.

"What do you mean, the effluents need to be diluted 10,000 times for them to be harmless to local endemic organisms," Galaziy explained. "Baykal's main asset is its hitherto clean water."

The latest resolution on the protection of the lake basin was adopted under pressure from public opinion and the press, the president noted. And since that time, 1987, attention to ecology has waned. A law on protecting nature and on Baykal is essential.

After that a news conference was held. A considerable number of pointed questions were asked there, as was the case the previous day during a conference at the House of Soviets and at meetings with the city's veterans and inhabitants.

"Who said that the Union has collapsed. Demagoguery!" Gorbachev asserted at the news conference, not without anger. "The country's population is for preserving the Union. Only together can we survive. The state-legal crisis must be overcome, otherwise the ground will indeed shake beneath our feet and the roof of our common home will come loose. It is time to finish with militarization of the economy. We produced 64,000 tanks—more than the rest of the world put together. But now we do not know what to do with them or with such plants".

Talking about the ban on the CPSU, the former general secretary stressed that only a court could make such a decision. If democrats are against pluralism then they are worthless, they are simply deceiving us. Gorbachev reaffirmed his commitment to the socialist choice.

Many questions were asked about privatization. It must be carried out sensibly, the president said. After all, in some Western countries over one-half of industry belongs to the state sector.

The guest supported the initiative of the Irkutsk residents who are fighting for the recognition of large krays and oblasts as territorial-state formations and subjects of the federation.

The president visited two stores—one state and one joint-stock. Which is the better?

"Neither is inspiring," he noted. "But the joint-stock store is a little better."

Mikhail Sergeyevich did not know that in the dead of night a refrigerated truck had been driven to this store from which fruit, vegetables, canned food, and other things had been unloaded.

"People's patience is at breaking point," Gorbachev warned, answering journalists' questions. "If we do not justify their still unextinguished hopes, if we commit major new mistakes, we will not escape calamity. The August putsch will seem like a Sunday school picnic compared to that.

Yesterday Gorbachev left Irkutsk for Bishkek, the capital of Kyrgyzstan.

Following 'Right Path'

LD2211144791 Moscow TASS in English 1433 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Khodiy]

[Text] Irkutsk November 22 TASS—"I have become even more assured that we are following the right path," Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev told a news conference here today, summing up the results of his two-day visit to the Siberian city.

In the words of the president, the trip to Siberia has confirmed his assurance that the success of the upcoming reforms is possible only in a union of sovereign states.

"All the conversations here proved people care a lot about the Union and Russia, and they care to restructure and preserve them," the president stressed in a TASS interview.

The country is now passing the most acute stage of the crisis, Gorbachev said. "However, we must pass through this stage in order to achieve a new quality of life," the president noted.

On the other hand, people's patience has its limits. If no real steps are made in the coming months to reform the economy and solve many state and legal issues, people's confidence will come to a halt.

There is only one way out—to act decisively, Gorbachev underlined.

After completing his visit to Irkutsk, the president arrived in the Kyrghyzian capital of Bishkek this afternoon.

Gorbachev Remarks on Reforms

LD2211203191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 22 Nov 91

[From the TV Inform program]

[Text] The success of all the reforms is only possible within a union of sovereign states. This was stated by President Gorbachev on the final day of his trip to the Transbaykal area. Here is a report from Irkutsk by our special correspondents:

[Correspondent A.Gerasimov] I wanted to come along and support the people, the country's president said today. This morning he was giving his support to the officers and students of the Irkutsk Higher Air Force Engineering College. [Video shows Gorbachev meeting Air Force students]

[Correspondent S. Slipchenko] The Air Force has been regarded as the Army's elite. It was well financed even back in the 1920s and 1930s. Today its cadres in many respects outstrip other branches of the forces. It is well known that Soviet military aircraft are the best in the world. The state and society are interested in the professional skills of the Army. There is a need to reduce its numbers, but the soldier must be quite different.

We speak very frequently about conversion, and the officers are having doubts about whether their profession is needed. It is needed. It is precisely this domain that can be the core of a professional army. There was a discussion here on this. The best elements in the Army must be preserved. [video shows Gorbachev talking to officers and addressing students; students shown operating personal computers]

[Gerasimov] Incidentally it is necessary to preserve all the little that remains in the country. Ecologically clean territory is indeed fast disappearing from the Earth. The sites that were once reserved around Lake Baykal have now been transformed into an enormous garbage dump. Over the past 30 years almost all the forests around the renowned lake have been felled, and the clearings that have been formed are occupied by giant producers of toxic effluents. One-fifth of the world's fresh water stocks could be transformed into a vast reservoir of defoliants.

These somber themes were discussed with Gorbachev by staff members of the Limnological Institute on the shore of Lake Baykal. Under the latest Novo-Ogarevo accords the country's president is taking control of matters relating to ecological safety. They are now just as interrepublic as defense, transportation, and power-engineering.

Suffice it to remember the Ukraine's Chernobyl which passed on radiation to Belarus, Russia, and the Baltic republics. Gennadiy Filshin, who suddenly appeared in Irkutsk, promised on behalf of the Russian government by 1993 to close down the Baykalsk paper and pulp combine, one of the globe's biggest poisoners. The whole world fears an ecological disaster in this region. The West is seriously discussing a multibillion project to restore Siberia's forests without which all of us will simply suffocate. Even Coca-Cola is ready to invest its money, getting in return, it is true, access to the deep waters of Lake Baykal to produce its drinks. [Video shows Gorbachev at limnological institute; close-up of bottles of Baykal water]

Mikhail Gorbachev left by air today for Kyrgyzstan. The ecological theme will be continued there. In Irkutsk ,however, the outcome of the president's visit is being summed up.

It was his first trip inside the Union since the putsch. Gorbachev's popularity among the people is almost as high as ever. The crowds welcoming him are the same as in 1985, but the discussions are taking place in a harsher form. In Irkutsk Mikhail Sergeyevich did more listening than speaking. He promised almost nothing to anyone. [Video shows Gorbachev walking about among crowd in street]

In appraising the situation the views of the local leaders coincided with the president's viewpoint.

[Begin Gorbachev recording] At present the process of developing new ways of living in all these areas is under way. This, of course, gives one the feeling that the ground is moving under our feet, and in some places that the roof is moving too.

[Yu. Nozhikov, head of Irkutsk Oblast administration] If we have not been shooting at each other, it does not mean that our situation is so easy. We are having to work very intensely indeed to keep control of the situation. [end recording]

[Slipchenko] On the eve of the initialling of the new Union treaty Gorbachev stated that he does not feel himself in any way restricted and confirmed his belief in the need for a political and economic union of the former republics. In this respect he was amicably disposed of the first attempt in Russia to give an oblast the status of a territorial state formation. Irkutsk oblast is attempting to become a subject with equal rights of the Russian Federation.

The president has now departed, but the people remain.

[Begin recording] [Nozhikov] A single visit even by people invested with complete authority can never satisfy all expectations. We tried to put to the president those issues that fall within his powers and no others.

[Slipchenko] What then is your opinion? With whom is it more productive for you as head of executive power and head of administration to have dealings—with the USSR president or the president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic?

[Nozhikov] Definitely with the republic leaders and the executive president.

[Slipchenko] Are you in general satisfied with Mikhail Sergeyevich's visit?

[Nozhikov] Yes, certainly. [end recording]

Arrival in Bishkek Detailed

LD2211175691 Bishkek Radio Bishkek Network in Russian 1400 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] USSR President Gorbachev arrived in Bishkek today. He is making a working trip around the country. At Manas Airport, where the president's aircraft arrived from Irkutsk, the state flags of the USSR and of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan were raised. At the aircraft steps Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was cordially welcomed by Askar Akayev, president of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. The president of the country was also met by Sherimkulov, chairman of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan Supreme Soviet; Kuznetsov, vice president of the republic; Isanov, the prime minister; other officials; and representatives of the public of the republic's capital. Girls in national costume presented Mikhail Sergeyevich with bread, salt, and flowers.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev gave a brief interview for Central and Kyrgyz Television. Then, accompanied by a motorcycle escort, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Askar Akayev set off by car for the residence provided for the USSR president.

Tomorrow, Gorbachev will have a working day of meetings.

Meetings, Visits Viewed

LD2311113391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1033 GMT 23 Nov 91

[By TASS special correspondent Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] Bishkek, 23 Nov (TASS)—Like many inhabitants of the capital of Kyrgyzstan, USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, who arrived in the republic on Friday [22 November], began his Saturday [23 November] morning with a visit to Oshskiy bazaar. The stalls and stores here are full, but prices are high and have shown a marked tendency to rise. The subject of the president's conversations with the townspeople was, naturally, the problems associated with stimulating the work of food producers and establishing private farms.

At the Frunze Agricultural Machinery Works, one of the republic's largest industrial enterprises, the head of state studied the production of equipment much needed by farmers. He paid great attention to the social problems encountered by the labor collective on the road toward a market economy.

Today the president also visited the Kant machine-testing station, toured the Kyzyl-Su collective farm in Keminskiy Rayon, and met shepherds, farmers, and designers and testers of agricultural machinery.

This evening Mikhail Gorbachev will meet with some of the republic's public representatives.

'Main Themes' Observed

LD2311135491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0812 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Telephone report by correspondent Yuliy Semenov from Bishkek on USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Kyrgyzstan]

[Text] Yesterday evening [22 November] there was a meeting with scientists. Most of the time, naturally, was taken up with speeches by scientists involved in various specialities here. Although, in my view, the speakers included some who spoke in generalities, there was also a lot that was interesting and relevant.

There were two main themes in the discussions and also in Mikhail Sergeyevich's closing speech: the fate of the Union, and the consequences that would occur if it is not preserved in some form, including the disastrous consequences for science—the disintegration of science, the education system, and cultural cooperation. All of this is very worrisome to the scientists of Kyrgyzstan; they spoke about this. The president agreed with this area of discussion. So, indeed, the problem of what we may call the provincialization of science and education is a real possibility if the Union disintegrates. Of course, it would be very difficult for a republic like Kyrgyzstan and other republics to resolve the problem of training scientific cadres—and not just scientific ones—without cooperation with our main scientific centers and schools.

The second set of questions had to do with the problems of entering into the market, economic freedom, and ensuring that Moscow's centralism is not replaced by republican centralism.

Well now, I can perhaps cheer up the audience of our Saturday "Panorama" program a little. Yesterday I told "First Program" listeners that there was to be a little improvisation today. Well, I knew what I was talking about. On the aircraft the president had told us journalists in confidence that, in addition to the scheduled agenda, he would like to visit the bazaar in the morning to talk to people and see how things were. Well, you may recall the song from the well-known cartoon—the guard gets up early, there are great secrets, and so on—you probably remember it. That is the situation we observed this morning.

We got to the bazaar early and could not help but see that there were very many people there not buying anything. It was chilly, and they raised their collars and looked at the people who came there, wondering why they came and how they were behaving. Then the president arrived. A large crowd immediately formed around him, of course. It was very difficult for the security service to prevent the dear guest from being caught up. The people jumped up onto the stalls and the whole market strained to see him. The crowd moved like a typhoon across the market square.

Then, after looking at the fruit and vegetable sections, the president went to the meat pavilion, which is very well-stocked—we managed to get a look at it. It was bit quieter there. But all the same, I think that in spite of the crush around him the president got the information that he wanted from his visit.

He managed to speak to a lot of people; he was clearly not in a hurry. The conversations were not just about how to feed the cattle, where to get supplies, how to grow and store them, the profitability of marketing, and so on. Naturally, in his contacts with people there were discussions which went far beyond these narrow themes. In particular, even though I was quite a ways away, I managed to hear a woman with tears in her voice—literally with tears, perhaps the television will show this later—telling him how the disintegration of the Union is reflected in the fate of people, in the fate of families. Her family is dispersed in various republics and used to live more or less in peace and quiet, but now they have lost their peace and quiet. Things are getting bleak for the people and they look to the future with fear about what they will be doing.

Well, the president had to listen to sad tales about housing conditions and the problems there, about living and working conditions. This theme was continued in meetings and conversations at the agricultural machine-building works. It is interesting that the works were built by Czechoslavak internationalist workers who came here in 1924—it is said that Dubcek worked here and spent his young years here. We have already said that this is the only works in the Union producing pick-up balers. You know this enterprise is very important for the republic and for the Union, but the working conditions are very difficult. The works has hardly changed. The workshops are old, window panes are missing in places, and drafts whistle through. This is basically what the workers told the president. I went up to the girls in the paint shop after Mikhail Sergeyevich left. We told him that we could work much better if the working conditions were even slightly acceptable; at present it is very hard, they had told him.

Naturally, there were businesslike talks here with specialists about agricultural equipment, its use, sales, and purchases. I think that this interest in agricultural problems will to a certain extent be satisfied by his visits to rural areas, which are now in progress. Unfortunately we were unable to accompany the president because we had to come in to the studio and have this meeting with you. In the evening Mayak Panorama, my colleague Aleksandr Mirtov will tell listeners about the rest of today. That's all for now.

Remarks at Bazaar

LD2311194191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Video report by S. Slipchenko on President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Bishkek, including remarks by Gorbachev and Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Excerpts] The president's Saturday [23 November] morning program began, as for many inhabitants of Bishkek, with a visit to the bazaar. This was and remains the main source of provisions for the local population, although, of course, there's no trace of the bygone abundance. But the prices—let's put it like this, the presidential salary would scarcely stretch to the full monthly minimum. What can you say—in these abundant southern areas you cannot call this fruit and vegetable situation normal. The collective and state farm sector is bound hand and foot by state orders and fixed prices and is powerless here. The oriental bazaar has prompted the solution for a long time: private allotments of land, private property. Finally, politics has outgrown the socialist choice, and it seems is ready to make use of these promptings. In particular, the latest decree by Askar Akayev connected with the acceleration of land reform and the formation of peasant and individual farms bears witness to this. He who delays in mastering market practice runs the risk of being left behind. The agricultural machine-building plant named after Frunze, which the president of the country visited, is running such a risk.

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] [Gorbachev] What about commercial shops—industrial goods shops? [words indistinct] Industrial goods shops—there is everything there. [passage indistinct] [end recording; video shows bazaar filled with products, people buying and selling. Gorbachev and Akayev are shown talking to people. Shots of agricultural machine-building plant, then of interior of a shop where women complain of exorbitant prices and lack of detergent. Akayev in background is shown speaking to a woman in the crowd]

[Slipchenko] There you are—the shops are empty, but the market has everything, except, perhaps, pick-up presses. That's because they are produced for the whole country by a single monopolist, and that's this factory in Bishkek. It is to stop its conveyor line soon. They have been unable to conclude a single contract here for next year, including with partners from Russia, even though that is the place where 45 percent of pick-up presses go. The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee used to be able to issue a command from Moscow, but the country's president, looking at the machine tools from a bygone age left to the factory workers by their own ministry, can only sympathize. The market is, after all, a matter of personal initiative, enterprise and personal responsibility. [Video shows Gorbachev and Akayev being shown around the inside of the factory, Gorbachev talking to workers]

The initiative of employees of the trading center in Kantskiy Rayon is enviable. They organized such a spread for their eminent guest's arrival that Mikhail Sergeyevich was even embarrassed. After all, shortly before he had been speaking at the shop entrance with a mass of people who can't get food products and prime necessities, even with their ration cards. Such an attempt to misinform the president now looks too clumsy.

It has to be said that these everyday matters—food products, housing, goods—cropped up at all the meetings with the people, and moreover, at the initiative of the president himself. This is that same Kantskiy Rayon, at the machine testing station, generally one of the most prosperous farms in the agrarian sector. [video shows Gorbachev and others in white coats visiting farm]

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev, in progress] ... and your whole life like that. The only thing I can now honestly confess to you is that I don't stand in a queue. Well, I don't know—if the president is going to stand in a queue, too— but I can see that it's awful, people have been tormented.

[Unidentified woman] If we all work as we have worked—we, for example, supply 6,000 kg for every cow as before. But there is still nothing. We are making supplies, we are working in the same way, we are getting up at three just the same—why is there no milk or sour cream in the shops? [end recording]

[Correspondent] Of course, if the cellar were fuller, the peasant would be less dependent on the shops. A discussion developed between the president and the farm managers about what should be privatized on the land and how.

[Begin Gorbachev recording] I have been expressing the point of view the whole time that we cannot make any real judgements about our collective farms, we can't judge anything. They have never made use—they are called cooperatives, but they have never operated in a cooperative system. That's all, you have to provide the system, and then they'll either go bust, and then they'll provide land and everything, or they'll prove themselves. [end recording]

Warns of Danger of Nationalism

PM2411221391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 91 p 1

[Report by correspondent Yu. Razgulyayev: "More Questions Than Answers. M.S. Gorbachev's Countrywide Tour Ends"]

[Excerpts] Bishkek—Union President M. Gorbachev's visit to the Republic of Kyrgyzstan lasted only 24 hours.

The guest was received in different ways. Unlike before, there was no huge crowd of people accompanying him, no rows of people full of enthusiasm with little flags in their hands. But on the other hand there was more than an abundance of pointed and painful questions about our increasingly complicated life. [passage omitted]

During the day the president had to listen to scores of such difficult questions. Everybody understands that in the new conditions Gorbachev is simply not able, as before, to immediately solve a question of metal delivery or construction funding. Much now depends on the coordinated actions of the sovereign republics themselves. But all the same, what does the author of perestroyka himself think about this? Representatives of the republic's public who had assembled in Bishkek awaited these answers from the USSR president.

"It is not possible for us to go our separate ways now," Gorbachev once more repeated his main thought at the meeting. "If we do this, collapse is inevitable. Nobody can solve his problems on his own."

After noting the republic's commitment to democratic forms of development and the relative social stability, Gorbachev reminded people of the real danger of nationalism, which is sometimes helped by too radical forms of sovereignization.

Are all these processes not the inevitable consequence of perestroyka? Wasn't it itself a mistake? The guest was repeatedly asked these questions.

"No!" Gorbachev stated firmly. "But we must take the path of changes more decisively, we must surmount the crisis more rapidly."

Gorbachev Speaks on Perestroyka

LD2311203291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1608 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Report by Aleksandr Mirtov on visit by President Mikhail Gorbachev to Bishkek on 23 November, including recorded remarks by Gorbachev; from the "Panorama" program]

[Excerpts] My colleague Yuliy Semenov has already reported in today's "Panorama" about what took place during the first half of the day during Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Kyrgyzstan. [passage omitted]

However, the main event, which indeed summed up this brief but, in my view, important visit, occurred in the second half of the day when Mikhail Sergeyevich and the officials accompanying him returned from the rural areas they had visited and the USSR president had a meeting with members of the public in Bishkek.

A characteristic and, to my mind, interesting thing was that the opening address by Kyrgyz President Akayev, and then the speech by Gorbachev, expressed the main point that the visit has in general achieved its aim. This aim was, as Mikhail Sergeyevich said once again when he arrived in Bishkek, that we need to synchronize our clocks, exchange views, deepen the dialogue between leaders, listen, of course, to the people's views, and, so to speak, make a visit into the thick of the people. Well, as I was saying, to my mind this aim was achieved. Something else that is of interest and is characteristic, and Mikhail Sergeyvich noted this in his speech, is that, despite all the complications and all the difficulties relating to the restructuring processes, most of the people with whom he had occasion to converse today—and yesterday at the meeting with scientists at the republic's Academy of Sciences—nevertheless were of the view—well, even if they were not of a single view, at least the overwhelming majority of people expressed the view that it is essential to continue perestroyka.

Indeed, addressing today's meeting with the public and developing this thought, Mikhail Sergeyevich said: [Begin Gorbachev recording] The question has arisen again and they say again that we have gone in the wrong direction. It is difficult to struggle against perestroyka since it obviously changes society and changes the world around us, turns peoples toward us, and returns us to the family of peoples. It is difficult to combat all this. Indeed, the people feel different, they feel that something is happening that is humanizing society and that we are beginning to feel like individuals and people.

It is difficult to fight this, when such a dubious thesis is being fed to us—a thesis aimed at sowing doubts—but let me be more precise and say what the nature of the thesis is. The thesis is that we began everything in the right way in 1985, proceeded in the right way, and then we changed our course. This is cheating, cheating in order to sow doubts, evoke dissatisfaction, and, particularly, use the present social tension to transform protests into opposition and actions against this course.

This is how it is at present. It is the most critical stage in the development of the country and society. If we again waiver and give in, the more the weight of these colossal problems, the difficult situation in the country, and the difficulties of our lives will press upon us. We all feel immense burdens every day. It is being said that there are more objective reasons, so to speak, than needed and that one might, it seems, act in that way, but it would be a mistake. It would be a return and a repetition of everything. It would divert our country for a long time from the historic process being followed by more and more countries. Just take a look. Other countries are already joining in and following in the wake of the developed countries. There are many countries in this continent of Asia, which were at quite a different stage of historical development, and they have now emerged. There are South Korea, Thailand, Malaysia, Taiwan, and so on and so forth. Japan itself is in the same category.

I should very much like to hope, and I have grounds for so doing after my conversations with people who make their political judgments on the basis of what they have at their disposal, and life is difficult at present—nevertheless they too are raising the issue not of going backward—and I have to state that no one in actual fact spoke of that. It is only a matter of our moving ahead. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Interviewed on Kyrgyz Visit

LD2311231191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2155 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Interview with USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev by television correspondent Sergey Slipchenko at Bishkek Airport 23 November prior to departure for Moscow; from the "Television News Service" program—recorded]

[Text] [Slipchenko] Mikhail Sergeyevich, you have come to a republic—a sovereign republic—which is a little ahead of the other republics in its economic development, or at least in its treaties. Where have they gone wrong, and in what respects have they been right?

[Gorbachev] I would just like to say that I was interested on arrival actually to see how the leadership is taking practical advantage of the possibilities that have opened up to carry out reforms. You know, there are several factors that I think are interesting. First, I liked and greatly appreciated, politically, the actions of the president, above all toward unification and easing the tension that was even threatening a split within the Supreme Soviet and in society. Thanks to acting together, thanks to his actions and correct steps to deploy and unite the forces representing all the regions and all the moods, a dynamic leadership has now taken shape which in general adheres to the policy of reform.

But I also like a second thing; that here neither the people nor the republic are being ridden roughshod, though the question of the need for reform has been put progressively and resolutely.

[Slipchenko] By revolutionary means.

[Gorbachev] Well, I would put it this way, that it is the form of revolutionary decisions. Because it is a question of changing ownership relations, of the political system; these are all profound reforms. I like the position, I am impressed by it, I value it highly, when such conflagrations are raging around them, in the sense of relations among people, and taking into account that there are representatives of 80 nations living here.

[Slipchenko] Yes.

[Gorbachev] There are a million Russians here, and others. They are following a line of preserving and even utilizing the new situation in order that those relations may even improve. They had elements which they have resolved and removed, and here the president in this case —when it was again a matter of coming to the right decision—even embarked on such constructive but persistent work with the Supreme Soviet. That ended in mutual understanding. That was appreciated by the people—by all the peoples, and that is very important.

Finally, they are trying to rely on native wit and the peoples' good sense in carrying out the reforms. I like the way they are, as it were through political and legal means, urging the people, taking a lot of trouble with them, consulting them, and then making that decision to take steps, and not imposing from above, but as being accepted. Now that is important.

Further on Union Treaty Deliberations

Gorbachev Interviewed

LD2411194691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Nov 91

[Interview with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev by correspondent Aleksey Kondulukov at Moscow airport on 23 November, upon completion of Gorbachev's trip around country; from the "Vesti" newscast—first paragraph is announcer's introduction]

[Text] The situation in the country is developing with surprising speed. Just one year ago, the political preservation of the Union, practically within its old borders, appeared quite realistic. On 24 November 1990, a year ago, the draft of a new Union treaty of the USSR was published. Tomorrow, the Supreme Soviet of the Union will initial a completely different version of the Union treaty. Late yesterday evening, the main inspirer of both texts, Mikhail Gorbachev, arrived back from his trip around the country.

[Gorbachev] It is after all difficult to arrive at a new Union, at a redistribution of plenipotentiary powers, and at a new role of the Union center which the republics need, and at the republics.

[Kondulukov] What is the attitude of the president of the USSR toward the economic policy which is being pursued in Russia?

[Gorbachev] I think that the intention and the thrust of these steps which we know about today, and on which it is possible to make a judgement—Boris Nikolayevich and I have spoken about some of them—have to be welcomed. You know, one of the feelings from my trips there, especially in Irkutsk, is that one has to work, one has to work, to work. There is enough... [changes thought] Patience is running out. The situation is acute. One has to work. And in this regard, the resolve of the leadership of a republic such as yours and ours, the Russian republic, is of enormous significance in order to get the whole Union going and to lend new momentum to the reforms.

Novo-Ogarevo Meeting Opened

LD2511124191 Moscow TASS in English 1143 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondents Boris Grishchenko and Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Novo-Ogarevo November 25 TASS—In his opening address at the meeting of the USSR State Council in Novo-Ogarevo today, President Mikhail Gorbachev told participants that President Mutalibov of Azerbaijan intended to take part in the meeting but was held back in Baku due to the strained situation in the republic.

Gorbachev said the ceremony of initialling the Union treaty, which is scheduled to begin after 1300 Moscow time, will be followed by the closed meeting of the State Council.

The nature of the problems to be discussed by the council can be deduced from the presence at the meeting of the chairmen of the Soviet parliament's two chambers, Anuyarbek Alimzhanov and Konstantin Lubenchenko, head of the Interstate Economic Management Committee Ivan Silayev, as well as Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, KGB chief Vadim Bakatin and Defence Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov.

Council Meets for Closed Door Session

OW2511125891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1153 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpts] The USSR State Council gathered for a session in Novo-Ogarevo on Monday [25 November] to focus on the initialling of the Union treaty. As IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov reports, later, at the proposal of President Mikhail Gorbachev, the Council will hold a closed-door session. Those present include Russia's President Boris Yeltsin, Belorussia's Prime Minister Stanislav Shushkevich, Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov, Kyrgyzstan's President Askar Akayev, Turkmenia's President Saparmurad Niyazov, Kazakhstan's Vice President Yerik Asanbayev, Acting Chairman of Tajikistan's Parliament A. Iskanderov. [passage omitted]

The leaders of Georgia, Armenia, Moldova and the Ukraine also failed to come to the session.

Gorbachev Interviewed After Debate

924B0099A Moscow TRUD in Russian 19 Nov 91 pp 1, 3

[Excerpts from STERN interview with M.S. Gorbachev conducted by A. Bezymenskaya in Moscow on 16 November: "'Now We Must Stand Our Ground.'"]

[Text] **On 16 November Mikhail Gorbachev gave a one-and-a-half hour interview to the German STERN magazine, dealing broadly with the country's problems and the prospects for resolving them in light of the results of the State Council session. A great deal of attention was paid to relations with Germany. The interview was pegged to the anniversary of the Germans' unprecedented humanitarian action in supplying our country with foodstuffs and medicines and modernizing medical institutions.**

The following took part in the interview: Editor in chief R. Schmidt-Holtz, deputy editor in chief J. Schildt, and STERN Moscow correspondent J. Voswinkel. A. Bezymenskaya conducted the interview.

The interview is to be published in the next issue of STERN. We offer our readers excerpts from this interview.

[Bezymenskaya] You have said, Mr. President, (and this phrase is being used everywhere) that the country is on the brink of collapse.

[Gorbachev] ...As far as our economic situation is concerned, it is complicated, very complicated. But first, the central question: the point is that on this subject we share a common view with Chancellor Kohl. We talked about this when we met in Kiev in the summer. At that time I heard this comment from my partner, Helmut Kohl: The main question we must resolve is the question of the state. It is very important for me to hear this, and I myself have always held this view.

...For us, for a long time the question of the state has been the main question. I insist on that. I favor reform of the state, but also its preservation. I would like to be absolutely free in my opinions, this is very complex subject matter. In such a question it is also impossible to subordinate views and practical politics to political passions, even more to separatist and isolationist plans. This space was formed and put down its roots over a thousand years. Take any era in our history, it has always been dynamic. Rus suffered defeats or was pushed from a certain historical step when it was splintered. The amassing of the lands took a long time. And in this way a certain commonality took shape. They called it an empire, and the tsar was called an emperor. But it was a specific empire, not the acquisition of territories overseas. The Slavs moved across an enormous space and they encountered different things on their journey. And a kind of commonality did develop that it is now difficult to describe unambiguously. The blood that flows in our veins is the blood of dozens of peoples. Perhaps this is why we think it is not too bad and we will win through...

... Some 75 million people live in places other than where their indigenous nation lives. Seventy five million! Some 30 million mixed marriages. There were no state borders within the country. Our borders were administrative. And now we are beginning to tear all that apart, destroy it, bewildered because we have misunderstood the idea of self-determination. I am for self-determination, for sovereignty, for a decisive redistribution of functions in favor of the republics, for smashing the bureaucratic structures. But I am decisively against slicing up and putting under the plow everything that is common, shredding everything. I reached that conclusion long ago and I stand by it! Otherwise there is disaster. So the main question is the question of the state. If the state disintegrates everything will be torn asunder—the economy, economic, scientific, and human ties...

[Bezymenskaya] Yesterday the State Council was considering issues such as the state structure...

[Gorbachev] Yes, there was a debate yesterday... Finally we concluded that the Union, the new Union, should be a Union of Sovereign States, and that it should be a confederation, a confederative democratic state. With unified Armed Forces, territory, citizenship, agreed foreign policy, a single market functioning on agreed principles, and so forth, that is, a banking union, currency, pricing policy, and so forth. This state should have a president elected by its citizens, and he should be the head of state, and there should be a government...

[Schildt] When do you reckon these elections might be held, and will you be advancing yourself as a candidate?

[Gorbachev] When my colleagues and I were arguing about why I am in favor of a state in which the republics will be sovereign while the state should be effective and empowered within the limits of what they themselves agree, I said this: If you think that Gorbachev is self-serving, you are wrong. It is a question of that commonality that I mentioned earlier, a question of the complex world of peoples. Therefore, an effective common state must operate. And I told my colleagues this: I do not know whether or not I will offer myself as a candidate. That is not the pressing thing. The main question is that we should preserve the common state and thoroughly reform it...

[Bezymenskaya] Now you are president. Notwithstanding, you have repeatedly said that given the coincidence of certain circumstances, you will resign. In Germany they believe that this is not a very effective means of political struggle. Or is this an emotional thing for you?

[Gorbachev] I understand you. I long ago linked my position to one thing, namely, I will resign if I see that the state is being destroyed. I will not participate in this destruction. Neither will I join in some incomprehensible, amorphous formation that no one needs. Yesterday in Novo-Ogarevo I also reminded them of this. I make no secret of it. I simply use the final argument: We are in a condition that poses the question of whether there will be or there will not be a state. And I believe that if we move further along the path of disintegration neither new reforms nor partners, no one and nothing can help us.

[Schmidt-Holz] From your words of yesterday I sense that this was a more than decisive day...

[Gorbachev] Yes, it was destiny.

[Schildt] Was it a breakthrough on the path of preserving the Union as a single state? How do you assess the leap forward?

[Gorbachev] I think that an event took place that in and of itself will occupy a place in history if what was agreed is realized, carried through to a conclusion. If not, if someone at some stage tries to frustrate or does frustrate the process, it will still remain a part of history: It will be remembered that we let our last chance slip.

Do you know what is happening in the country? All the information I am receiving from the various sociological centers and researchers indicates that more are now in favor of the Union than in the spring referendum. People can already see where we have come and what disintegration will mean.

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[Bezymenskaya] And what will Russia's role be in consolidating the new state?

[Gorbachev] The leading role, the chief role. And you see the struggle that is going on around President Yeltsin to exert influence on his policy, on his choice. Yesterday at Novo-Ogarevo I asked him to speak first at the news conference. And he said that there will be political union. I should say that we Russians cannot permit ourselves the luxury of being cut off and isolated... I think that after being so sick and suffering so much, Russia will be with the other peoples, as it always has. And it will play its role as the unifying republic, the most influential.

You see, perestroyka and democracy have now thrown so many new people to the surface, and some of them have reached the political level. They have gained these heights quickly. I was at the celebrations marking Dostoyevskiy's 170th anniversary and I heard the following quotation: "Anything that grows rapidly is not solid." So it is with politicians. And there are 300 million people and one-sixth of the Earth. This is not a field for experiments. Now it is a difficult and terribly crucial matter. And Russia will not forsake, I use the word deliberately, its mission, will not disappear somewhere, although I do believe that any claim to some messianic role comes from the realm of fantasy and in fact this is not what Russians think.

* * *

[Schildt] Yeltsin is to visit Bonn soon.

[Gorbachev] I welcome this visit. I think that talks with the chancellor and the upcoming conversations will be good and useful.

[Schildt] Do you think that he will also be speaking in your name? Or will he be speaking primarily as president of Russia?

[Gorbachev] He has been invited as the president of Russia, but I am sure that our agreed policy will be presented. Nevertheless, I do not myself think (I talked about this again yesterday) that we have been pursuing 12 or eight foreign policies. No one will want to deal with such a state. And yesterday, in order to prove that we will pursue an agreed foreign policy, we adopted a decision in the State Council on a new ministry for foreign dealings that will also assume some of the functions of the present Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

Until we move to the new structures, after the signing of the treaty, the present structures will work and assume the burden of the transitional period. Yesterday we also adopted a new provision on the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and reached a decision on the approaches for the preparations for a new defensive union and an agreement on defense, so that the future treaty is already in process.

[Schildt] Let me return one again to Yeltsin. How have your relations with Yeltsin developed since the unsuccessful putsch? Do you have daily consultations with him?

[Gorbachev] Relations with Boris Nikolayevich started to switch to a positive phase long ago, after he became president. There is a reality, and I am a politician and a politician of reality. But I must say that at the end of last year and the beginning of this year a dangerous opposition arose between us. It hampered both us and agreement in society, as well as movement along the path of reform. We found ourselves in a quagmire of political struggle and we were entangled, and we wasted a great deal of time. Politics may influence the course of events positively... or negatively. It was out of this situation that the Novo-Ogarevo process arose. And then relations progressed in a positive direction.

Since August the need for cooperation has been recognized both by me and by all democratic forces. They must cooperate, not rely on nuances. Just before you came I was talking with Boris Nikolayevich. And we also talked the day before yesterday (smiles). Normal dealings. As it should be.

[Schildt] Just before I came here I read an interview that Yeltsin had given to DIE ZEIT. That is a large newspaper, published in Hamburg...

[Gorbachev] I know, my partner Helmut Schmidt is there, with whom I also have good and fine relations.

[Schildt] In this interview Mr. Yeltsin presented himself as a decisive politician and he said approximately this: I can solve nearly all the problems without Gorbachev. What did he have in mind? What is this—all problems can be solved without Gorbachev?

[Gorbachev] I do not know. I will have to read it before I can comment. I fear that comment on some fragment will not take us where we must go. I am sure that it is not a question of Gorbachev. I am sure that the president of Russia has assumed a position such that the reforms can be implemented in cooperation with all the republics, and he is assuming a position that favors the creation of a new Union—the Union of Sovereign States. This means that the president of Russia, like everyone else, must cooperate with the Union authorities. No matter who a person may be—Gorbachev, Sidorov, Petrov, Ivanov, Danilov. That is the logic of the thing. Retreat in the opposite direction is illogical and dangerous.

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[Schildt] Will you permit a question about Erich Honecker? Mr. Yeltsin said in the interview that if it were up to him he would return Honecker. According to him, it follows that you must wash your hands of Honecker. Do you agree with this?

[Gorbachev] I think that this subject falls within the humanitarian sphere. If we look at the history even of just the past 10 years we see that certain events have occurred in any state, and the state one way or another has been dragged into events outside its own borders. If we approach the evaluation of the activity of former politicians of cold war times in a rectilinear fashion, then they should probably all be sent to prison rather than given a pension. A dramatic oversimplification. And this is what I think, and I say it to everyone: He is an old man, 80 years old. He spent 10 years in prison under fascism. Then destiny was shaped in such a way that he was a participant in the processes that took place in the eastern part of Germany—you will recall what those events were. Then came reunification. So what next, set out on the road of revanche and vengeance? We have forgiven those who served in the Wehrmacht under Hitler, and they have become normal, full-fledged citizens. But we should punish Honecker? I cannot grasp that. If we have a morality then the issue should not exist. I would therefore like the Germans to look to themselves. I can only sympathize, and help if asked. I told Herr Genscher that they should meet with Honecker at the ambassadorial or consular level and talk with him. In any event, I think that this is a purely local issue and should not be brought to the level of our interstate relations. I think that there is no need to launch a campaign. Let everything be accomplished normally somehow.

* * *

[Schildt] You have repeatedly said that a new putsch is not out of the question. Is this really the situation?

[Gorbachev] I cannot agree that I have said that. You see how dangerous it is to assess a particular statement... the more so when it has never been made (smiles). What I said "before" I have said "since." Society and the country have changed so much that they will never in any circumstances agree to return to a totalitarian regime. And the putsch was an attempt through an extraordinary situation to turn society back on itself. Their main mistake was that they failed to understand that they were doomed. I told them that when their representatives appeared in Foros ... and that they would have to answer for it. And that is happening. I had a higher opinion of those who surrounded me, those who ended up in the State Committee for the State of Emergency, and I thought that they had enough imagination to see that the problem could not be resolved by a putsch.

But it is a different matter, and I have said here that in fact you are right, if we do not get a grip on the situation, particularly the socioeconomic situation, through reforms and initiatives, if things get worse with foodstuffs, if production keeps falling, if dissatisfaction grows among the people. And this might swell into a mighty protest. And that is very dangerous. Therefore, we must now act to include people in the process of the reforms and give them an opportunity to handle the matter themselves, and hope for cooperation with partners. This is now simply vitally necessary for us.

Gorbachev Presents Analysis of Aug Coup

LD2211143191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] London, 22 Nov (TASS)—It does not often happen in Great Britain that a television serial, shown for the first time only recently during the summer, is repeated a mere three months later, and attracts the attention of such a large audience. That is just what has happened with 'The Second Russian Revolution.' Six episodes were recently seen on BBC television, and on the next two Saturdays another two are to be shown, covering events in the USSR in the months which preceded the attempted coup d'etat and what followed. It is bound to be a success with the viewers: USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev gives his own analysis of the changes in the Soviet Union. About two weeks ago Masha Slonim, who works for the BBC Russian Service and is the granddaughter of Maksim Slonim, the famous Soviet diplomat, talked to the Soviet president for an hour and a half. In the interview, part of which is to be shown in the seventh and eighth episodes of the film, M. Gorbachev talks in detail about the sources of the policy of perestroyka and events linked to putting this large-scale concept into practice. From the very start, he noted, it was a matter not of making repairs, but of large-scale renovation, possibly entailing the demolition of the building and the construction of a new one on its foundations. It was clear that this would affect the interests of millions of people, and that powerful public forces would come into play.

Recalling how the participants in the Novo-Ogarevo talks in July 1991 managed to overcome their difficulties and reach agreement, M. Gorbachev said: "They were very difficult but essential discussions which brought us to the accords. We already had a treaty. Basically, I affirmed scenarios, affirmed everything that would get the document signed—the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] members were aware that this would lead to a new era in which they had no place, and that is the key to understanding and explaining their stance."

The president stated that from the very beginning it was clear to him that the coup was doomed to failure. Talking about the putschists' visit to Foros, he noted: "I made a suggestion: Let's convene a congress, you set out your position, and I'll set out mine. Let the congress decide. If the congress adopts your position, that's what will happen. Then we can say that we are at least deciding everything democratically. But no, they were afraid. They're a cowardly lot. It was obvious even on the second day that they had taken fright. I don't think they expected me to react that way. They thought it would be the 'Khrushchev option.'"

In answer to a question as to why he announced his resignation at the April plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, but then remained in the office of general secretary, M. Gorbachev said that, in his desire to maintain the drive for perestroyka, he had not wanted to leave such a huge and powerful organized force as the CPSU without influence. "And I believe that the program we reached at the last plenum confirms that my position was correct in principle."

Explaining why, immediately after the collapse of the putsch, and while still in Foros, he had stated that he would continue attempts to reform the party but changed his position a few days later, M. Gorbachev said: "I did not yet have information about what position the party's leadership or the party committees had taken up. But when I learned that the Secretariat (let alone the Politburo)—the greater number of whose members were on the spot—had not taken a position against this putsch, in defense of the general secretary of the president—when information reached me that some central committees of communist parties and many party committees of the oblasts had adopted the stand of the SCSE—it became clear that either for political or for moral considerations I could no longer link myself with their activity. That is why I said that I was leaving that post, but at the same time I called on all communists to set up their organizational committees, and on the basis of a correct understanding of the situation and of the values of perestroyka, to form a new party."

M. Gorbachev noted that the decision to resign from the post of general secretary became for him a big personal drama. Having touched upon the history of drawing up the "500 days" program, the president said that the feeling that this work needed to be done jointly had come to him and to the Russian leadership. It is difficult to imagine, he stated, that something in this immense country can be implemented successfully without the distinct, clear position and the leading, initiating role of the Russian Federation. This is what history has decreed; such is the role of this republic. The elementary experience of political activity prompted that it was necessary to integrate efforts in order to reach a coordinated line. "But you see what happened—the Supreme Soviet pressured the president, everyone, and essentially forced the introduction of corrections."

In conclusion, the BBC correspondent asked M. Gorbachev why, from the autumn of 1990, he had "softpedalled" and had moved away from the "500 days" program, as a result of which "his liberal colleagues and assistants" had started turning away from the president. Had this "turn to the right" not been a tactical maneuver? Had M. Gorbachev not been attempting in this way to stave off some danger?

"When Mr. Bush and I met," the president replied, "he also asked me to tell him about this. He too had questions. And when Mr. Baker arrived after the putsch, he said: The President, his assistant and I gathered together; we sat and reflected. And when we observed what ensued in connection with the putsch, which forces had risen up, we understood that Gorbachev had been right to maneuver. It had been necessary to gain time, it had been necessary to prepare society; it had been necessary to do everything in order that any adventure might be doomed."

Gorbachev on Union, Reform, Personal Role

LD2411223891 Moscow TASS in English 2207 GMT 24 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—"We need the Union, for this is required by the inner logic of our development. At the same time this is one of strategic supports for the development of the whole world," President Mikhail Gorbachev said in an interview with Mortimer Zuckerman, editor-in-chief of the U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT journal. The interview is published today.

Gorbachev fully supports the right of every people and every republic to self-determination. However, he believes that "our country is a unique community of people". It has been evolving over a thousand of years and everything in it is interwoven and interconnected. In his view, "If we begin to split up, the process would be so painful that this would mean a disaster under present conditions".

The president is deeply convinced that "the peoples and republics really have the right to self-determination but this right should be exercised not through division or secession but through a profound re-distribution of powers and an in-depth reform of the Union, through transition from the unitary state—which existed in this country, although it was called a union, a federation—to a genuine union of sovereign states where each state will have great political, economic and cultural freedom and where every people will enjoy greater freedom while keeping intact the natural relationships the vitality of which has been maintained throughout centuries-long history".

The president said that many republics had already declared their independence. There are, of course, a large number of people who believe that independence is tantamount to secession, to withdrawal, he remarked.

"But in our conditions when republics' declaration of independence gives them freedom to take a voluntary decision and make the choice—be within the Union and participate in creating a new union or secede. Therefore independence in itself is the basis for a voluntary decision," he said.

In response to a question about the Ukraine, Gorbachev expressed confidence that the present Ukraine "will last and get the second wind."

"But I think it will last precisely by taking part in the creation of a new Union. However, if some forces push it to isolation from other republics, primarily from Russia, then, as I said one and a half or two years ago, the Ukraine may encounter colossal difficulties in its development," he emphasised.

"It is impossible even to imagine the Ukraine really quitting the Union, for that would be a misfortune, a great misfortune for the Union and a still greater one, a disaster for the Ukraine," Gorbachev said.

He stated once again that there was no danger of slacking control over Soviet nuclear weapons. "There is no such problem, and no one disputes this," he added.

"When meeting with representatives of the U.S. Administration, I said we are interested in cooperation with the United States and in securing that the United States share with us a technology for the destruction of weapons, including nuclear ones—strategic and tactical—and particularly chemical weapons.

"The pace of the elimination of weapons in this country and the realisation of parallel or coordinated initiatives will also depend on that. As far as I understand from talks with U.S. Administration representatives, such a discussion is both necessary and possible," Gorbachev said.

Describing the past, Mikhail Gorbachev said the administrative command system had not been capable of working properly already by the beginning of the eighties. The arms race lead to enormous deformations in the national economy. State property dominated and destroyed the workers' natural impetus to toil efficiently. On the other hand, wage levelling and lack of initiative prospered. A new type of a laborer, disinterested in the results of his work, emerged. Economy became more oriented on attracting new resources in production.

There is no returning for us, Gorbachev said, and the society itself will decide as to which steps should be taken in the future. To my mind, the way must lie in reforming ownership, creating a wide spectrum of property types open to competition, he said.

I believe reform will not be that difficult if we give people both property and social protection at the same time. We have now approached a stage when this should be done simultaneously, Gorbachev said. He pointed out these measures can not be taken without considering the experience of the world economies.

We have come to realise the necessity for deep economic reform of the state system as a whole, he said.

Zuckerman said President Bush achieved great success in world politics but encountered problems in his home economy. He asked Gorbachev to comment on the fact and to give his advice to those presidents who experience the same difficulties.

If achievements in foreign policy of a state are evident, if these leaders managed to change the international situation thus making military reductions and disarmament possible and, consequently, widening economic and scientific cooperation, they shouldn't be criticised for that, Gorbachev said. We all act not only with our terms of office in mind but also do we try to foresee the future. And we know large-scale changes are difficult and time-consuming.

Although we are now experiencing economic difficulties in implementing a deep economic reform in the Soviet Union while the United States face certain problems in their economy, it all happens in an environment favorable for our two countries and for the international community as a whole, Gorbachev said. This enables us to seek for a solution to our internal problems bearing the interests of both the present and future generations in mind, he said.

Gorbachev described his relations with Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush as those of "good partners and people to whom I am committed".

We cooperated in good will tackling the most serious international conflicts and came to a conclusion we all are a single civilisation and let us give each country a chance to follow its own choice. In the course of our search for a new dialogue and steps to improve the situation, we came to trust each other. I hope the process will go ahead as no changes either in Europe or in the world would have been possible without the new type of relations between our two countries. I do hope cooperation and mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. will keep on developing in this complex period when changes embrace the whole world, Gorbachev concluded.

Further Reportage on Shevardnadze Appointment

Foreign Media Reaction Noted

PM2211150091 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 91 p 4

[Article by Pavel Bogomolov: "A Minister Who Does Not Expect Congratulations"]

[Text] "A strong Gorbachev ally with an ideal political reputation..." "Someone able to help save the administration's tottering building..." "A clear plus for the prestige of the country which Shevardnadze will be representing..." All these phrases, which may be graphic journalese but are at the same time highly telling, are garnered from the latest issues of the influential world newspapers THE WASHINGTON POST, THE TIMES, and LE FIGARO.

"And how is Shevardnadze's appointment as USSR minister of external relations being seen in the Japanese press?"—I asked our Tokyo correspondent, I. Latyshev. Back came an eloquent quotation from SANKEI SHIMBUN: "For Gorbachev the extent of his power within the already destroyed structures of the former Union is lessening all the time; Shevardnadze, enjoying enormous trust in the United States and the other countries of the West, thereby becomes the healer who can revive and strengthen the influence of the Union government on the country's foreign policy."

Devoting their headlines to the news from Moscow, the major press organs stole a march, as often happens, on the heads of state and government—the torrent of statements by the latter hit the teletype machines a bit later. But, on the other hand, the political weight of such statements "straight from the horse's mouth" is incontestable. It is no wonder that the reactions of George Bush, John Major, and other Western leaders to the new Kremlin appointment are everywhere being studied most attentively.

The conclusions being drawn from the event right now are very important. First, the calculations of the most radical enemies of the center, those against Moscow retaining interrepublic powers, have not, I think, at least to date, worked out. Even they recognize that you cannot make a figure like Shevardnadze accept the fancy trappings of ceremonial office, he has need of real functions and broad prerogatives.

So London's DAILY TELEGRAPH is right when it writes that "Gorbachev and probably Yeltsin have assured Shevardnadze of their intention to maintain the role of the central foreign policy department." I would add that this occurred less than a couple of days before the Russian president's visit to the FRG. A not unimportant detail if we really want to convince foreign countries that our waning center, to quote THE TIMES, "still deserves Western support."

The minister who has returned to the tall building on Smolensk Square is well known as a champion of the free, sovereign development of all the states which have arisen on the debris of the obsolete-style federation. They do not consequently have to fear the restoration of the old Foreign Ministry monopoly. After all, though not the "all-powerful chancellor," Shevardnadze appears a worthy coordinator of the external political courses of the republics. And a very experienced and authoritative one at that.

However, congratulations, as Shevardnadze soberly told a journalist, "are not called for. Nor is sympathy in order." Yes, these words bespeak not only a heightened awareness of the state of affairs today. They also encapsulate his intuition and reflect an attempt to present graphically upheavals which have yet to befall us and to do the utmost to prevent them.

It was Shevardnadze who had unambiguously warned the country of the possibility of a coup d'etat. Today he warns both the country and the world of a far more dramatic and truly global danger. It is bitter to acknowledge, but the chief of our diplomacy has every right to describe the mounting instability in the USSR itself as the "chief threat to the whole world." This threat, in his words, is more dangerous "than nuclear, environmental, or any other."

...Regarding Shevardnadze's previous activity as foreign minister, not all of it, of course, was marked by total triumph. No, along with the successes—the start of real disarmament, the unblocking of a number of regional conflicts, and activity in defense of rights—there were disappointing shortcomings, losses, reverses, and extremely hurtful quarrels with long-standing allies, which PRAVDA wrote about many times. But I do not want to talk about that today. After all, good hopes of stabilizing our diplomatic front are being pinned one way or another on our new minister.

And one last thing. Even in a period of dramatic changes playing ministerial musical chairs ill becomes a great power. Once someone has been appointed, give the people time to see whether the appointment is appropriate. Just consider this: Just hours after the decree on Shevardnaze was signed high-ranking Foreign Ministry staffers were ringing newspaper editorial offices in earnest asking them to send special correspondents on the next trip by Minister... B. Pankin.

Interviewed on Political Stance

PM2211150491 Paris LE FIGARO in French 21 Nov 91 p 4

[Interview with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA journalist Andrey Karaulov in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] [Karaulov] Did you really fight to defend your policy until your resignation from the post of foreign minister?

[Shevardnadze] No.

[Karaulov] Why?

[Shevardnadze] I was defending the foreign policy and the agreements which we had concluded. I argued about our stance on the Gulf crisis. If it was a struggle, it was a struggle for positions and not against the people who were the perpetrators of intrigues and insinuations. That was certainly a mistake.

[Karaulov] Why? Until the Supreme Soviet session in spring 1990, influential deputies, mainly Anatoliy Sobchak, who is currently mayor of St. Petersburg, presumed that you would be vice president. You certainly knew about those rumors. However, you resigned without waiting for that appointment. Do you think that it was a promotion aimed at getting you out of the way more effectively?

[Shevardnadze] That possibility was discussed with me. Even before Gorbachev officially told me he was considering that idea, I knew about it. And I immediately refused. It seemed to me that as foreign minister I had learned something all the time and that made me useful.

[Karaulov] When you announced your resignation in the legislature, you said that Gorbachev was your friend.

[Shevardnadze] Yes. It seemed to me that with the announcement of my resignation, I was helping Gorbachev enormously. At the time I think he took my resignation badly.

[Karaulov] He interpreted it as a betrayal.

[Shevardnadze] However, he did not say that. He had to overcome an inner conflict. He could have said that the threat of dictatorship was real. But what did he say: I see no threat of a putsch or dictatorship. It is true that a month later, in Minsk, he said that the country was heading for chaos and that dictatorship was born of anarchy. Indeed, he spoke of the threat of dictatorship even more convincingly than I did.

[Karaulov] Did you have no alternative to resignation?

[Shevardnadze] You know, foreign policy had become the target of constant criticism. Nobody, not the president, the Supreme Soviet, or Lukyanov (chairman of the Supreme Soviet before the 19 August 1991 putsch)—not to mention Ryzhkov, the former USSR prime minister—in other words none of those who ought to have defended foreign policy, said anything.

[Karaulov] Why? The whole world was rejoicing.

[Shevardnadze] Yes, the whole world. In addition, a conservative Leningrad newspaper wrote that Shevardnadze and Yakovlev had destroyed the Union. Having said that, I am grateful to my opponents. If everything of which we can now boast is attributed to those two people, then I am proud of that.

[Karaulov] A former member of the Politburo and the CPSU and a convinced Communist is proud of the failure of socialism! Surely that is paradoxical?

[Shevardnadze] (Silence) I have tried to explain my development in a small book which was published recently. I was sincere when I believed in Stalin and Khrushchev and then, for a time, in Brezhnev. And everybody—at least the overwhelming majority of members of society—believed in them to some extent. We were certainly naive. As I moved up the hierarchy, I tried to change, to improve certain things. And I realized that while occupying a senior position—candidate member of the Politburo—there were impossible obstacles to surmount: in short, everything needed to be changed. It was a difficult process.

[Karaulov] Is it possible that you really believed in Brezhnev?

[Shevardnadze] Yes, for the first few years when he was in power. At least Brezhnev did not interfere in Georgia's affairs. He supported us sometimes, but rarely. He realized that it was Stalin's birthplace, that many things there are linked to Beriya's name. A tiny republic with three autonomous republics and complex internal relations: Brezhnev tried to take account of all those characteristics and it would be unjust of me not to say so. When I was first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, I was not interested in relationships between individuals: The bitter memory of Beriya's intrigues was still present and was associated with my people. I therefore always tried to have good relations with all those who occupied a position.

[Karaulov] When you conceived of the perestroyka plan in Pitsunda (in 1985 before Chernenko's death) did you realize that everything which is happening now would happen?

[Shevardnadze] We did not have the slightest idea. We simply reached the conclusion that things could not continue as they were. We realized that we had to change everything completely. The main mistake, in my view, is that at one point the executive was considerably weakened.

[Karaulov] Did Gorbachev not become jealous of the popularity and authority that you were acquiring in the world?

[Shevardnadze] I am not sure. Be that as it may, was there any reason to be jealous? This, because I was delighted with all the successes that he achieved, and I helped him as much as I could. I cannot say that I was in seventh heaven when Gorbachev was awarded the Nobel prize. But I was pleased, as much as anyone else, because it was the ultimate recognition of our foreign policy and of all that was happening in the USSR.

I have never regarded the victories of Soviet diplomacy as my own successes.

I expected equally sincere and active support from Gorbachev. Of course, the foreign minister could not have done anything without such support at Politburo, Central Committee, and Presidential Council meetings. So he did support him. But when the situation became very difficult, when Gorbachev should have spoken out, he remained silent. It was definitely a mistake on his part.

[Karaulov] Do you still think that Vladimir Lenin remains "the man dearest to us"?

[Shevardnadze] As a thinker, on an intellectual plane, Lenin is an exceptional phenomenon in history. As for socialism, the errors that we committed, Lenin is indeed no saint. It would be entirely mistaken to blame everything on others. I do not remember who called Lenin "Vladimir Robespierrovich"—maybe Bukharin. Lenin was basically a cruel man. You cannot justify his cruelty by citing the situation. Otherwise, you could even justify Stalin.

[Karaulov] Have you only just realized all this, now that you have left the Communist Party?

[Shevardnadze] I started having doubts at the end of the seventies. I do not react very quickly: The process of deliberation takes me a long time. I do not make a decision until I have gained a final conviction. What will our society be like? A synthesis of all that is good. Call that what you want: capitalism, socialism; it does not matter.

For my part, I talk in terms of democracy. As for socialism and capitalism, is it necessary now to settle the issue of which was better? The age of arguments is past. A difficult transitional period is opening up before us; I think it will last five or six years. Then we will decide what kind of system we want to have.

[Karaulov] Is the country ready for the market, in view of the present economic and political situation?

[Shevardnadze] No, the market is impossible. Most likely we will witness totally unpredictable events. I see no prospect, because I do not think that any positive changes will occur in the coming months—on the contrary.

If we had facilitated foreign investments three or four years ago, we would already have the experience of market relations and would enjoy direct spinoffs. But this process is still curbed. This is one of the reasons for my somber forecast. Sooner or later these considerations will force democrats to rally together on a single platform.

[Karaulov] You lead the Movement for Democratic Reforms; do you think it has a future?

[Shevardnadze] Yes, I think it is a movement for the transitional period. Its objective is a calm transition to a new status of society, without civil war, deadly conflicts, or complications. If we rally together, this will happen. I told Gorbachev long ago that the Movement for Democratic Reforms was moving in line with his interests and with those of democracy. Yakovlev and I have not changed; we defend the same stances as in 1985.

[Karaulov] It is now clear that when you resigned you did not intend to leave politics.

[Shevardnadze] If we succeed, within the movement, in achieving all that we have planned, the result will perhaps be nothing less than the presidency.

Urges Restraint in Infighting

LD2311201791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1849 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 23 Nov (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the organizational committee of the Movement of Democratic Forces and USSR minister of external relations, has called on the governments and democratic forces of Azerbaijan and Armenia "to demonstrate restraint and not to take steps which could lead to irreparable consequences." His appeal, published today in connection with the crash of a helicopter in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, stresses that "the death of people who were carrying out a goodwill mission has shaken the whole world community."

"What has happened is also saddening because it could ultimately break the process of talks between Azerbaijan and Armenia, which was started with such difficulty at the initiative and with the participation of the Presidents Boris Yeltsin, Nursultan Nazarbayev, Ayaz Mutalibov, and Levon Ter-Petrosyan, the appeal reads. My years-long experience of taking part in settling regional and interethnic conflicts shows that it is particularly important at times of trouble to preserve wisdom, presence of mind, and the ability to listen to each other. It is mortally dangerous to yield to emotions and to allow the conflict to grow into a war between the republics. A local conflict has already developed into an interregional one. There is just one step left until it becomes a global one." "At this time of trouble, Eduard Shevardnadze concludes, my colleagues from the Movement for Democratic Reforms and myself are prepared, together with you, to look for a way out of the crisis."

To Visit Republican Capitals

OW2511094591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0743 GMT 25 Nov 91

[From the 22 November "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] It has become known that Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, a newly-appointed foreign minister, plans to make a tour of the capitals of the former Union republics. According to Mr. Shevardnadze himself, he intends to hold consultations to define priorities in the Union's foreign policy and the Union's economic activities.

According to the observers, the trip—its schedule and itinerary have not yet been defined—may be of central importance if the Ministry for Foreign Relations, a successor to the Soviet Foreign Ministry that is currently being created, is to function smoothly. On top of the agenda is the scope of the powers the republics are willing to give to Mr. Shevardnadze personally and his new Union structure to enable them to represent all the newly sovereign republics in the international arena.

It is a safe bet that Mr. Shevardnadze will not visit Georgia, the leadership of which has branded him as "an enemy of the people."

Faces New, Different Problems

PM2411162591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by IZVESTIYA Political Observer Stanislav Kondrashov: "Shevardnadze Returns. But You Cannot Enter the Same River Twice"]

[Text] So 11 months after his dramatic resignation Eduard Shevardnadze has returned to the ministerial office on the seventh floor of the skyscraper on Smolensk Square. But you cannot enter the same river twice, particularly if it is flowing through our unprecedentedly tumultuous times.

The office and the building are the same, but the country is strikingly different, and, in the opinion of the majority of commentators at home and abroad, the superpower that existed only 11 months ago is no more. The old Union has also gone while the new one is not absolutely sure whether or not to be born. And what happens if, say, it is born without the Ukraine or the other customary—albeit less important—parts.

The same office, but the ministry has been renamed—it is now the Ministry of External Relations. Shevardnadze was always proud of the professionalism and intellectual potential of the Union Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but now the central apparatus is being halved, and at the same time the powers are being reduced (some are being taken by republic foreign ministries) and expanded (by the addition of foreign economic activity). The new-old ministry now looks not only abroad but also at its "own" republic-states, with the dual task of facilitating their own excursions into the outside world and as far as possible preserving a unified foreign policy.

Mikhail Gorbachev called upon his old colleague, as well as Aleksandr Yakovlev, one of the founders of perestroyka and the new thinking, to use his authority—in the world and inside the country—to try to bond together that which is uncontrollably falling apart. Cementing materials are in very short supply. Shevardnadze thought long and hard this time before accepting. For all his modesty he is, of course, aware of his own value. Given his considerable intellect, he will realize that this time he will have to be little short of a miracle worker. Miracle workers, however, are in even shorter supply. He hardly aspires to that role, but he agreed to return—"It is necessary to save democracy and the country."

If you take the political West, from Washington to Tokyo, Shevardnadze has approximately Gorbachev status, but without the losses the president has suffered in recent months and weeks. If you are talking about authority in the sovereign republics, then Gamsakhurdia, of course, would curse the best-known Moscow Georgian, but Yeltsin apparently has considerable respect for him, and Shevardnadze will have no problem talking with the other presidents on equal terms, which Boris Pankin's political authority and service record did not enable him to do.

To my journalist colleagues, Boris Pankin, no matter how high fate took him, is one of us, from our neck of the woods. He did what he could, and it was no fault of his that he was USSR foreign minister for less than three months: He did not appoint himself—and did he have the right to decline? No fault—and not such a great tragedy, considering that he stopped off in Moscow on his way from Prague to London, from one ambassadorial post to another, more important one. If one is talking about who is at fault, then obviously it has to be the one who made the appointment and who presumably supposed that courageous behavior during the putsch and being head of a very important ministry at a very difficult time were equivalents.

One is left to wonder about the tragedy. During these three months Shevardnadze, with his international and domestic prestige and experience, could have played the part of a shock absorber, could have minimized the processes of collapse which affected foreign policy as well. He could more quickly have found a common language with the republics and their presidents in order to save the country, by judiciously redistributing power, transferring "to the provinces" that which belongs to them by right and retaining for the center that which is required by the terms of common survival in a period of highly dangerous historical transition, on which our foreign partners too are insisting.

There was one example of the catastrophic nature of the situation this week. I am talking about the second visit to Moscow by the "Group of Seven's" deputy finance ministers in less than a month.

People are facing the bleak prospect of a cold and hungry winter. The West is in principle prepared to give aid not only in terms of food but also by deferring our foreign debt payments. But it wants to know whether these debts, totaling either $68 billion or $84 billion and more, will actually be paid and by whom if the Soviet Union and the central organs that incurred the debts effectively no longer exist.

At the end of October, during the "Group of Seven's" representatives' first visit to Moscow, the questions appeared to have been settled, and the republics had agreed to assume individual and joint responsibility. But the situation is changing by the week, if not by the day. So here they are again in Moscow, this time meeting with the premiers of the 12 republics. And once again there is uncertainty, as reported in our newspaper. The question of immediate aid has still not been properly resolved—through our fault.

That is where Shevardnadze's authority and diplomatic art come in. Not in matters of arms reduction between the United States and the USSR, as it was a year or two ago, but in questions of supplies of food and medicines to the former superpower. That is the river he has entered this time.

Shevardnadze has to seek reasonable compromises, he has to use his powers of persuasion and his democratic figure's aura to influence the sovereign republics' leaders. All the republics, jointly and individually, will benefit from a coordinated foreign policy. That will be the gist of his internal message. One would also like to see him play a useful role in finalizing the Union treaty.

To the outside world his return will be a personal guarantee that not everything is in terminal decline as yet and that the essential elements of coordination and centralization can still be preserved in the foreign policy and the military spheres.

Shevardnadze's appointment was announced on the eve of Boris Yeltsin's visit to Germany, which marks the Russian president's enhanced international prestige and a new era in direct interstate contacts between Russia and other states. The fact that Shevardnadze gets on pretty well with Yeltsin is a big plus.

Andrey Kozyrev, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic foreign minister and product of the Union Foreign Ministry, will be his colleague. I once wrote that Kozyrev was critical of the reorganization of the ministry he had come from. He is insisting that the Union Foreign Ministry transfer to the Russians not only some of its people but also some of its functions, in particular territorial administrations in charge of relations with other countries. Russia believes that bilateral relations should now be handled primarily by its Foreign Ministry.

Shevardnadze will also have to ponder these matters. Is he ready for it? I can cite our conversation of approximately two months ago. He said: "On matters wherein the republics have been obstructed and treated with jealousy, it is necessary to make a U-turn. The Foreign Ministry and the Union bodies have no task more serious than that of helping the republics to exercise their sovereignty in the international arena. Only through this can one achieve cooperation, only through this can one gain one another's trust. While rivalry means ruin."

On becoming minister he announced that his first duty would be to make trips to the sovereign republics for meetings with their presidents and premiers and with their foreign ministers. In this day and age that is obligatory.

So he has different partners within a Union that has disintegrated and has not yet been formed anew. Eduard Shevardnadze now has to pay as much attention to Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan and Leonid Kravchuk of the Ukraine as to George Bush or Helmut Kohl. He has old acquaintances and friends in the world like James Baker or Roland Dumas and Hans-Dietrich Genscher. But they now take a different view of the Soviet Union. Like Shevardnadze, what they want above all is for our democratic transformations to be stable and predictable.

He has his old name and new, incredibly difficult tasks. Shevardnadze is by no means sure he will be able to handle them. But he cannot stand on the sidelines. He wants to do his bit.

Silayev Cited on Abolition of Ministries

LD2211173191 Moscow TASS in English 1700 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS Correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—A total of 80 Soviet ministries and departments will be abolished in the country within two months beginning on December 1, 1991, Soviet Prime Minister Ivan Silayev said on Friday [22 November].

He said the reorganisation will not affect the Soviet Foreign Ministry, the Interior Ministry, the Defence Ministry, the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Railways, the Ministry of Atomic Energy and Industry, the Ministry of Power Industry, the Customs Department, the Committee for Public Education and the Committee on Ecological Safety.

The Ministry of Economics and Forecasting, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Communications and the Committee for Hard Currency will be preserved during the transition period.

Silayev stressed proposals on the creation of new structures within the Interrepublican Economic Committee should be made by republics and adopted by the Council of Republics' prime ministers.

Nishanov Comments on Appointment as Adviser

LD2311160191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0001 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 22 Nov (TASS)—"Mikhail Sergeyevich invited me to study interethnic problems." That is how Rafik Nishanov, former chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in speaking to correspondents of the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, commented on his appointment to the post of adviser to the USSR president.

The presidential adviser said that together with a small group of experts he would engage in a scientific analysis of the processes in the sphere of interethnic relations, and elaborate practical recommendations for consideration by the USSR president and the State Council.

In the opinion of Rafik Nishanov, priority will be given to the conflicts in Nagorno-Karbakh, South Ossetia, and the Dnestr region. The second important problem is refugees, which now number almost 1 million. The third is completing the rehabilitation of illegally repressed peoples.

Economic

Need for Economic Reform Measures Reported

OW2311013291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1135 GMT 22 Nov 91

[From the "Nation & Society" feature: "We Need Action, Not Rhetoric, However Resolute;" INTERFAX correspondent Nina Kovalenko interview with "prominent journalist" Andrey Nuikin about the current situation and prospects for the future—place and date not given; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] [Correspondent] How would you assess the current situation?

[Nuikin] We must pass over to action at last. The time for words, even as inspiring as the ones spoken by Boris Yeltsin at the congress of Russia's deputies about the economic reform, is gone. It is easy to understand what we are afraid of. The measures just proposed, especially price release, threaten to bring in poverty if they are not backed or even forestalled by other measures. We can frustrate the entire transition to a market economy if we fail to organize competition, if we do not change the taxation system, and if we do not create the most favorable conditions for entrepreneurship.

[Correspondent] You are talking about the set of measures which have not been adequately drafted and prepared yet. Don't you think it was a mistake to announce price release without proper preparation?

[Nuikin] That step was inevitable. But again, what we need now is not merely to announce plans but implement them, backing them up with the measures I've spoken about. We have already lost the two months following the putsch. If we had not, we would have been better prepared now. Undoubtedly, we could have implemented a lot of ideas since last August. But then, we were expected to act in a specific setting and not in an abstract economic medium, and to deal with a specific parliament. The Russian parliament has just become ripe [word as received] enough to give Boris Yeltsin all the powers he asked for. I doubt if earlier it would have agreed to do so. Really, we Russians never care for anything until hard times come. Similarly, our leaders won't bother to take up a problem until the crisis becomes uncontrollable. They will continue struggling for portfolios and discuss minor issues. Even in such a vitally important sphere as ethnic relations, decisions are prompted, I'm sure, by someone's ambitions—the ambitions of leaders, not nations or ethnic groups. The former are deliberately stirring ethnic contradictions, because they can only save their posts if they set people against each other.

[Correspondent] Do you come out for an indivisible Union?

[Nuikin] I come out in favor of preserving common economic structures or, in modern terms, a common economic entity. Why not try, perhaps for the first time in history, to create a community some of whose members would join it on a federative basis, others on a confederative basis, and still others on the basis of economic agreements? Why not try and see what will come out of it? Really, this process could produce new structures that would benefit all....

[Correspondent] So far, this ideal model has had very little to do with reality. Do you think a new putsch is possible? Can a popular uprising occur?

[Nuikin] The danger is enormous. Incidentally, no other putsch would have threatened us today if the August putsch had been thwarted to the end. But we behaved like the U.S. did in relation to Husayn. Americans stopped their tanks 40 kilometers from Baghdad and allowed Husayn to save his totalitarian system. Instead of doing short work with all this, thus saving the world, they will be checking on his nuclear programs for 20 years or so.

[Correspondent] How the U.S. dealt with Husayn is quite clear. But what could we do about the putsch.

[Nuikin] In any civilized state, if a conspiracy of such a dimension is disclosed, the newspapers which have done even such a minor thing as publishing the putschists' communique will be closed down. If you remember this was done in France after the anti-fascist war ended. Why change the leaders of a newspaper when it can be closed down? There is a deep symbolic meaning in this act. The organizers and the criminals must be tried. PRAVDA is a newspaper run by a public organization, namely, the Communist Party, which, I'm convinced, was involved in this crime. In Italy and France the fascist party was disbanded after fascism was defeated. That did not affect democracy in any way.

We, too, should have purged the state system from top to bottom, dismissing those who behaved in an inadmissible way at the time when the constitutional system was under threat. Any democratic state would have done so. A great number of officials had been in the know of the contemplated putsch and were preparing for it. But all of them have remained in their offices and none of them has been tried. By contrast, in the Army reprisals were clamped down on those who defended Yeltsin and the law during the putsch. [sentence as received] Therefore, when discontent gets accumulated, disturbances will evolve into a well-organized popular uprising which no one will be able to localize or cope with.

[Correspondent] In such a setting, our leaders must be extremely cautious. Getting back to the beginning of our interview, it seems particularly erroneous to announce in advance plans for price release, i.e. for an unpredictable price rise, without creating adequate conditions.

[Nuikin] You are right. If we had dealt with a financial reform or with a price rise, it would have been wrong to announce such plans in advance. But since we deal with a comprehensive radical reform, I don't think it would have been wise to keep it under wraps. Then again, there is nothing new about these measures. We've been talking about them all the time.

Incidentally, at the beginning I resolutely rejected the idea of releasing prices. But if all of these measures are implemented in a comprehensive way and if no serious mistakes are made, this process must be supported and sabotage in the periphery must be cut short. In short, if all of these plans are implemented, progress, however slow, will become visible. All this will do away with hopelessness and uncertainty.

[Correspondent] What future is in store for us?

[Nuikin] Whatever may be happening now I look ahead with optimism. I don't agree with Yeltsin, though, that by the middle of the next year economic recession will be checked and by next autumn the situation will start improving. In my opinion, the second half of the next year will be particularly traumatic as far as the reforms go, and prices will continue to rise. And yet, if we pass from words to action we shall improve the situation and normalize—to be more exact, invigorate—the economy. In short, I'm an optimist.

Conversion Said To Cause Enterprises Losses

LD2411053191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1921 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 22 Nov (TASS)—Instead of an abundance of goods, the transition of the military industry to the manufacturing of nonmilitary products has until now resulted in enormous losses, stated Mikhail Ananyan, the president of the International Conversion Fund, in an interview today for the newspaper 'VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA.'

The announcement of conversion was made for effect and in no way linked with economic and social problems. This is a global issue, considers Dr. Ananyan. As always in this country, this was tackled in a purely political way, with awkward directives from above. As a result, the enterprises of the military-industrial complex are spending a great deal.

The scientist sees very major costs in the process stemming from the fact that the creative elite of the defense enterprises have been faced with the need to either vegetate or look for another job. Thousands of those working in the industry have found themselves in such a position. And all of this could have been very different if the transition to the production of civilian goods had been well thought out and prepared, noted Mikhail Ananyan.

Ruble Rate Against Dollar Assessed

PM2511094591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 91 Union Edition p 8

[I. Zhagel report: "Currency Exchange: We Are Taking the Same Course, Comrades"]

[Text] A two-week-old record was equaled in the latest dealings of the USSR Gosbank's [State Bank] currency exchange, which took place 19 November. The ruble's exchange rate against the U.S. dollar stood at 110. In all, $5.72 million was sold. The volume of bilateral deals between enterprises registered by the currency exchange totaled $772,000, at an averaged exchange rate of 67.6 rubles to the dollar.

Many specialists predicted that last week's increase in the ruble exchange rate was temporary. More and more new decisions by the Russian Government in the economic sphere are increasing the interest in currency. Thus, the previous leap on the currency exchange was a consequence of the Russian president's statement on the imminent setting free of prices and, accordingly, a new inflationary spiral. And a few days ago Yeltsin signed several new economic decrees. The biggest influence on the ruble exchange rate was undoubtedly exerted by the decree on the liberalization of foreign economic activity, in accordance with which all legal persons received or, at least, will very soon receive the right to intermediary operations in foreign trade.

This is now the most profitable sphere of business in our country. Given the present scarcity of consumer goods, foreign trade operations conducted even at the present crazy exchange rate pay for themselves. It is no coincidence that the number of buyers of dollars, pounds, and marks in the currency exchange is far in excess of the number of people wishing to sell them. So it is possible to predict at no great risk that the ruble exchange rate will very soon fall as before.

Moreover, it is possible to speak confidently of an abrupt increase in the number of buyers in the currency exchange, as the decree on the liberalization of foreign economic activity grants the right to conduct currency operations through authorized banks not only to all legal persons but also to individual citizens. And there will be many people among us who have built up sizable ruble amounts over past years by playing on the scarcity of goods in the consumer market and making use of the imperfection of the legislative base or simply, to put it mildly, of foolish decisions in the economic sphere.

The interest of individual citizens in possessing currency will also be conditioned by the fact that, in accordance with the Russian presidential decree, the existing procedure for retail trade and rendering services to citizens for foreign currency is being maintained temporarily, until 1

July 1992. Thus, the disdainful attitude toward the ruble will prevail for at least another six months, and foreign money will be considered the real money in our country.

True, many people hope that the same decree's abolition of the ruble exchange rates against foreign currencies set by the USSR Gosbank on the territory of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic will help to stabilize our monetary unit. However, it is easier to declare something than to do it. There will certainly be no quick abolition of the Gosbank exchange rates, as this question will require lengthy and complex coordination with other republics.

Agriculture

Food Rationing, Supply Situation Viewed

PM2511153591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 91 p 1

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences L. Vashchukov: "Economic Barometer: "Ordinary Table or Table Fit for a King"]

[Text] Quite recently many of us grew indignant that meat, sausage, butter, and vegetables were disappearing from the stores, Now it is bread's turn. Some cities are introducing rationing on sales of bread, reminiscent of a blockade. The lines waiting outside the empty stores voice the idea: Hasn't the battle for the throne driven concern for our daily bread out of officials' minds?

Let us look through the eyes of impartial statistics at the food supplies with which the country is going into the winter.

We will use only facts and figures, bearing in mind that they are stubborn things.

The fact that the state granaries supposed to store the grain are half-empty is particularly alarming. Yet the grain fields cannot be said to have failed to produce the goods. Some 160 million tonnes of grain—52 million tonnes less than last year—have been harvested, yet only 39 million tonnes have been brought to the state granaries, at a time when a year ago the granaries had received 66 million tonnes. To what are we to attribute the fall in grain procurements? Reluctance on the part of kolkhozes and sovkhozes to sell grain on the cheap. They were quick to make out the situation: It is far more profitable to barter grain or trade it with stockbrokers, who sometimes pay 10 times more per tonne than the state.

Little feed grain has been procured. Roughly 25-27 million tonnes. Yet roughly 48 million tonnes is required. Where is the rest to come from? Some of this will be covered by kolkhozes and sovkhozes, but a considerable proportion will have to be bought abroad. As in previous years, we have been put in a spot by mismanagement and tremendous arrears, and grain losses have been permitted in many areas.

Moreover there has been a grim "war" for local power that has taken the concerns of autonomous formation, kray, and oblast leaders far from the unharvested grain fields. Yet the fields were shivering in the merciless winds of an inclement fall. Some grain fields were left unharvested. Not just tens of hectares, what is more, but 7 million hectares.

Many customers today do not even look in the meat stores. They know that they are empty. Why? Meat products were in short supply before, now the shortage has become catastrophic. Meat production in the public sector has dropped 12 percent. Some 17.3-17.5 million tonnes—roughly 1.5 million tonnes less than in 1990—will be procured. Naturally, state procurements will also fall, which will "reduce" the already meager state resources.

For those who are already living beyond the poverty line now, before the so-called price liberalization, the most affordable product is milk. But often it is not on sale. When it does appear, the lines outside the stores stretch for 100 meters. The reason is the same as for meat: Milk production has dropped, and by the end of the year roughly 8 million tonnes less than last year will have been produced.

Many people will have to give up their omelet and fried eggs. The price of eggs has risen drastically and production has declined. Roughly 3 million fewer eggs will be procured. It looks as though we have quite simply resolved the eternal philosophical conundrum of which came first—the chicken or the egg. You will not see either in the stores. They appear far less often than unidentified flying objects in our skies.

Now a word about potatoes. For a long time they were known as the second bread. Rightly so, since they were often a substitute for real bread. What will happen now that potatoes are becoming a delicacy for some people? Some 60 million tonnes have been harvested, but only 6.3 million tonnes procured. The population has quite a lot of potatoes which they are keeping until the spring and will then put on the market, where the prices have now soared rapidly. Quite recently during the winter, in January, the people of Moscow, Leningrad, Tbilisi, Yerevan, and other cities would pay 1.5-2 rubles [R] per kilogram of potatoes; now they shell out R4-5 each and in some places R10. Even renowned pole vaulter Sergey Bubka probably could not have withstood such a rapid rise in altitude. In order not to overstrain himself, he gradually increased his records skillfully, one or two centimeters at a time. There are no laws for our new economic vaulters: They make up all the prices, raising them higher and higher.

Many people comment: The emptier the stores, the fuller the market. You cannot help wondering: Is output destined for the state making its way there in a roundabout way? That is most likely the case. But market prices.... The customer looks at them and clutches his chest. Who can afford meat at R80 per kilogram, butter at R50, and eggs at R30 a dozen? Apart from our home-grown millionaires. But what about the rest, whose monthly earnings are only enough for around 10 days?

There was an old saying: "If there's bread on the table, the table is fit for a king." Are our state's leaders trying to deny this saying and prove to the country's inhabitants that a table can be fit for a king even without bread?

Military

Shaposhnikov Rescinds Personnel Appointments

LD2211203391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1847 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Nov (TASS)—Today, Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, USSR minister of defense, rescinded his orders of 18 November 1991 in which he appointed assistants to the commanders in chief of various branches of the Armed Forces and combat arms, and to commanders of military districts and fleets, who would be in charge of personnel work in the USSR Armed Forces. He also rescinded his order appointing Colonel-General Gennadiy Stefanovskiy as chairman of the USSR Defense Ministry's Committee on Personnel Work. A TASS correspondent was told this by Captain (Third Rank) Mikhail Nenashev, head of the press service of the USSR Defense Ministry commission on winding-up military-political bodies and the creation of combat training bodies and structures concerned with personnel work in the USSR Armed Forces.

This is the outcome of the stormy commission meeting held on 21 November. The commission also decided to ask Shaposhnikov to rescind his orders appointing heads of newly established structures responsible for personnel work. It did so on the grounds that the orders were made against the commission's advice. After all, generals, admirals, and top-ranking military-political officers, whose candidacies were either rejected by the commission or not even considered by it, were appointed to these posts.

The USSR defense minister also decided to extend the work of the commission.

Defense Ministry Urges Baltics Talks 'Soon'

LD2211211391 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 22 Nov 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Defense has sent two messages to President Gorbachev urging him to speed up holding talks between the Union and the Baltic states. The USSR Ministry of Defense has fulfilled its part of the job and wants the status of the Northwestern Group of Forces in the territory of the Baltic states to be defined as soon as possible.

Topical Problems Discussed at Briefing 22 Nov

Troops in Baltics Viewed

LD2311170791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Report by television correspondent G. Sedov, including recorded interview with Lieutenant General V.L. Manilov, head of the USSR Ministry of Defense Information Directorate; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] The topical problems of life and the activities of the Armed Forces were discussed today at a briefing in the USSR Ministry of Defense.

[Sedov] I will note the most important problem, in my opinion: the problem of the call-up to the Army. Both the ministry and the military registration and enlistment offices intend to be more organizationally strict regarding the coming spring call-up. The principal of serving outside one's own territory is maintained. On the whole the period of service is reduced to 18 months; young men with higher education will serve only one year. Contract service will develop broadly.

An even more important report: Servicemen who have deliberately evaded service are subject to an amnesty, as are those who are presently being sought, if they voluntarily go to the nearest military unit or military registration and enlistment office before 4 December this year. Two hundred and twenty people have already returned.

The problem of the location of our troops in the Baltic sovereign republics was particularly singled out. Today our conversation will be heard in the Baltics by the servicemen in those now sovereign Baltic republics. What would you like to tell them? At the moment the process of preparing for these talks is going on, they will take place sometime, and some decisions will be made sometime; what can you tell them today?

[Manilov] I can tell our comrade officers, soldiers, and their families that the Ministry of Defense, our government, and the president know the needs and concerns which fill their lives today. They are doing everything so as not to permit any discriminatory decisions against them, and are trying to achieve the absolute shortest possible time for the adoption of political decisions which will ensure their legal and social protection and a humane way out of this situation.

Call-Up Fulfilled by 70%

LD2211235191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2200 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] As of 20 November, the plan of the autumn call-up for the Armed Forces of the country has been, on average, fulfilled by 70 percent. The call-up in the Transcaucasian republics and in Moldova has been blocked. At the same time, 47 percent of the conscripts in the Chechen-Ingush Republic and 39 percent in Tajikistan have failed to turn up at military registration and enlisting offices.

This was revealed by Lieutenant General Manilov, head of the USSR Defense Ministry Information Directorate, at a briefing on 22 November. According to him, the only way out of this situation is to begin, starting next year, to bring the armed forces up to strength on a mixed principle. This means the parallel call-up of conscripts who will have their years of military service reduced and the conclusion of contracts with volunteers.

Speaking about implementation of the law on amnesty for servicemen who have evaded military service, which was adopted by the country's parliament on 1 November, Manilov said that out of 6,000 deserters who are being sought, only 220 have turned up to continue their service. The law on amnesty will not apply to those who do not show up at military administrative bodies by 4 December.

Estonia

Tallinn Hosts International Economic Forum

OW2011153691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1130 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] This Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday [20, 21, and 22 November] Tallinn is hosting an international economic forum, "Mare Balticum-91", which has gathered experts from more than 20 countries.

Today's plenary session of "Mare Balticum" opens with an address by Arnold Ruutel, chairman of Estonia's parliament. The work of plenary sessions will be monitored by Estonia's deputy foreign minister Rein Hullerson, Economics Minister Jaak Leimann and General Director of the Foreign Trade Department Mehis Pilv.

The forum's agenda includes such problems, as the advancement of small businesses in the Baltic states, joint ventures in the electronic industry, the development of Baltic transportation facilities, telecommunications and information, investment, privatization, the forming of a Baltic market, and the like.

Export Expansion 'Major Aim'

LD2311040891 Moscow TASS in English 2134 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By ETA-TASS correspondent Ruta Pels]

[Text] Tallinn November 22 TASS—A meeting of representatives of governments, enterprises and organisations from 20 states of the Baltic region ended here today with the establishment of an international economical forum, "Mare Balticum".

It is an open structure for various economic organisations, interested in the creation of economic, political and legal climate favourable for free enterprise.

A major aim of the "Mare Balticum" is the expansion of export possibilities of its members.

'Monetary Reform' Needed

OW2311033191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2030 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The international economic forum "Mare Balticum" ended its work in Tallinn November 22nd. Addressing the forum, former adviser to the Estonian Government and spokesman for the Swedish bank "Svenska Handelsbanken" Bo Kragh stated that Estonia needs to carry out a "severe" monetary reform as soon as possible. He said that so far the Baltics have not passed elementary laws to regulate their economies. In his opinion, the economy is still ruled according to Marxist-Leninist principles since most people continue to live under the influence of "red propaganda."

Participant in the forum, chairman of the Estonian premier's group of economic advisers, Harry Mannil, told BF [BALTFAX] that Estonia should rely on help from Sweden and Finland because it is much easier to get investment from there rather than from the USA or Asian countries.

Navy Communications Battalion To Withdraw

OW2311193291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1729 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet Navy's communications battalion will start leaving the village of Suurupi near Tallinn Sunday morning [24 November].

14 vehicles with equipment will depart from Suurupi on Sunday, the man on duty at Estonia's Department for Border and State Protection told BF [BALTFAX]. The 2nd column is likely to start leaving the place next week.

Withdrawal Route Reported

LD2311144591 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] ETA reports news from the Estonian Republic defense forces headquarters, according to which movements by a military column on 24 and 27 November can be expected on the Suurupi-Tallinn-Narva-St. Petersburg route. It will be a communications unit of the Soviet navy, withdrawing from Suurupi.

Nuclear Arms Depot Reported Near Tartu

LD2311225191 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2217 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] [No dateline as received]—A military air field and a nuclear weapons storage facility are located on the outskirts of Tartu, according to Estonian Supreme Soviet Deputy Yuriy Liima. Deputy Yuriy Liima states in his article published on November 22 by the republican RAHVA HAAL newspaper that there are 25-30 Il-76 transport aircraft and 15 TU-22 long-distance bombers on the military air field located near Tartu. Each TU-22 is armed, according to Liima, with 2 cruise missiles and 4 tactical nuclear bombs. In case of war, the bombers are to carry out a strike against objects located in the area of the Danish Straits, Liima says. Two TU-22 are on a permanent combat patrol over the territories of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus [Belorussia] and, partially, Russia. After a 24-hour patrol duty, Tartu pilots are replaced by pilots from Pskov and St. Petersburg. The nuclear weapons storage facility is in the territory of the air field. Until now, Liima has refrained from making this information public as he had no illustrative materials (the newspaper carries 4 photographs of aircraft and cruise missiles). The storage facility is in three underground hangars, missile warheads and bombs are stored separately. According to Liima's information, there is a total of approximately 300 nuclear weapons here. Only five officers have access to them, they are assisted in their work by a specialized team of 30 servicemen who deliver the weapons in special-purpose vehicles to aircraft. Part of tarpaulin-covered cruise missile bodies are stored on the ground. The complex has a special guard force. The radiation level is normal in the area of the complex, says Estonian Deputy Yuriy Liima in an article published by RAHVA HAAL.

Poland Granted Most Favored Nation Status

LD2311125591 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1530 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] The Polish and Estonian Governments granted each other most favored nation status:

[Unidentified correspondent] Polish Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz began his official, one-day government visit to Estonia with a speech at the opening of the Baltic '91 international economic forum. Baltic government delegations and representatives of these countries' economic circles and of international economic organizations are participating in the forum. The meeting's participants are discussing forms of economic cooperation between the Baltic Sea countries. The Polish official's speech concerned, above all, our experiences in moving to a market economy; however, the most important part of the Polish delegation's visit is bilateral talks. Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz and Foreign Economic Cooperation Minister Dariusz Ledworowski met Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar and Estonian President Arnold Ruutel.

Council Adopts New Rules on Government Change

LD2411013491 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By correspondent Feliks Kaasik]

[Excerpts] The agenda for the Supreme Council today was quite compact. [passage omitted] A Supreme Council resolution was adopted on temporary changes in the work and procedures at the Supreme Council. We are talking about quite a principled decision. What do these changes stand for? This is what I asked of Jaak Allik, chairman of the regulations commission.

[Begin Allik recording] The issue is about regulating the procedure for the Supreme Council to dismiss the government, to set up a new government, and to dismiss government members. Today the resolution was adopted, and, in brief, it amounts to the following: An absolute majority is needed—which at the moment is 52 votes—to pass a vote of no confidence in the government, in open voting. We have also created a possibility, at the request of the government, in a form altered by the legal commission, that the government link a draft law to a no-confidence vote; that is, if a draft law presented by the government is not adopted without alterations—if it does not receive 52 votes—the government will consider itself as having resigned. The government, however, will continue to function in both cases until a new government has been set up. In order to form a new government, it is necessary that the Presidium of the Supreme Council propose to someone to set up a government, and the nominee will appear before the Supreme Council with a full governmental list already, and he must collect at least two-fifths of the votes, with a simple majority. In other words, there must be more votes in favor of the government than against it, and there must be at least 42 people in favor. This will present an opportunity to form a minority government in a sense. [passage omitted]

This way the Supreme Council has created a foundation for governmental reform, within a certain framework and range. [pssage omitted] [end recording]

Newly Founded Police Force Faces Crisis

OW2311034891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2030 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] All of Estonia's police prefects sent a special message to Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar on November 21 saying that the newly-founded Estonian police force had been plunged in a crisis.

Prefects say that the needs of the police staff are ignored and their rights are inadequate.

The message warns that skilled personnel have been quitting jobs due to low pay and that the exodus will soon render the Estonian police force inefficient.

Local officers have strongly criticized the Estonian Police Department for incompetence.

Latvia

Trade Agreements Concluded With Republics

OW2311032391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2030 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Latvian Foreign Trade Ministry, Latvia has concluded trade agreements for 1991 with all republics of the former Soviet Union. Under the agreements, Latvia imports 5 billion 970 million rubles worth of produce and exports 6 billion 559 million rubles worth of products. Latvia exports consumer goods and food and imports mostly raw materials.

Under the agreement with Russia for 1991, the total cost of products exported by Latvia is 3 billion 437 million rubles and that of imported products 3 billion 444 million. Over the past 9 months Latvia has shipped to

Russia produce worth 2 billion 20.3 million rubles and received from Russia products worth 2 billion 500 million rubles.

Over the same period under the Latvian-Lithuanian agreement the plan of export from Latvia was carried out 110% (following the price hikes) and the plan of import—81%.

Belorussia fulfilled the plan of shipments 82%, Latvia—73%.

The director of the inter-republic economic relations department Makeyenko told BF [BALTFAX] that Latvia is facing certain problems "because of the economic policies of Russia and Ukraine which establish prices on raw materials on their own and want to settle in hard currency only."

Fuel, Goods Trade Negotiated With Belorussia

OW2311040291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2030 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 21st the Latvian Ministry of Material Resources concluded talks with Belorussian representatives on mutual shipments of goods and raw materials from 1992.

The ministry's press attache Mr. Jacobson told BF [BALTFAX] that Latvia had requested 12,600 tons of gasoline, 76,600 tons of black oil, 100,300 tons of diesel fuel and 3,500 tons of automobile oil from Belorussia. However, the agreement on these shipments will be reached after the issue is coordinated with Russia which plans to introduce world prices and settlings in hard currency with the Baltics. Belorussia and Russia are expected to sign the accord by December 20th.

Belorussia will provide Latvia with truck tyres, refrigerators, TV sets, leather footwear, margarine, etc.

Minister on 'Economic War' With Russia

LD2411043891 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 2000 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] The talks between Latvia and the USSR must start already in the beginning of December, regards the head of the Latvian delegation for the interstate talks, Minister of State Janis Dinevics. I have gained the impression that the USSR endeavors to specially delay their start in order to weaken Latvia economically and to make it more submissive, the minister said at a news conference today. We must as soon as possible ensure, by way of talks, the supply of energy resources and of the more important raw materials from Russia. If we are not successful in accomplishing this, then a serious economic war would begin between Latvia and Russia in the nearest future. Also, we will be compelled to become involved in it, to start counteractions, for example, to deny Russia the use of our ports and not to deliver our products.

Another most important subject of the talks is the withdrawal of the USSR forces from Latvia. Janis Dinevics regards that a large scale withdrawal of the forces should begin next year, and that this be completed, possibly, within two years. However, it is very essential whether the Western countries will be ready to assist us materially.

Tyumen Threatens To Stop Oil Deliveries

OW2311200291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1729 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The head of the Tyumen city council G. Raikov sent a letter to the chairman of Latvia's parliament. The letter says that if Sergey Parfenov, former deputy commander of Riga's special police unit (OMON), is not freed, Tyumen will stop its oil shipments to Latvia.

In this connection Aivar Datavs, chief of the juridical department of Latvia's parliament instructed to draft a return letter to the Tyumen city council, told the newspaper "DIENA" that "a political campaign should not be linked to economic relations." According to him, Tyumen is not in a position to halt oil deliveries to Latvia on its own.

Military Threatens 'To Freeze' Withdrawal

LD2311171691 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 2030 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] At a news conference organized by the officers of the Baltic Military District, Colonel Vladimir Sandalovskiy, chairman of the Council of Officers, termed the Supreme Council's resolution on taking over the objects of the USSR Armed Forces as property of Latvia as being anticonstitutional and incorrect. This can only be by way of interstate talks. The colonel threatened to freeze any order from the center on the withdrawal of the USSR armed forces from the Baltic states if the problems of soldiers' housing and payment of pensions is not settled beforehand.

By the way, according to unofficial information at the disposal of the Council of Ministers and the Supreme Council's Commission for Internal Affairs and Defense, there are at present around 120,000 Soviet soldiers in Latvia, including 40,000 ensigns and officers.

Government Raises Pensions, Allowances

OW2311023091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2030 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 21st Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis ruled that beginning from December 1st not working pensioners will receive an additional 205 rubles. Families with children will be granted monthly allowances from the state budget: 140 rubles per child under 8 and 160 rubles per child between 8 and 15.

On November 22nd Mr. Godmanis told the Latvian Government Information Service that by increasing allowances the government prepares to set prices free.

New Minister Outlines Policy, Work Ahead

LD2311172891 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1830 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] Latvia has moved into a new situation. Therefore certain political changes in the government were necessary. This is what new government Minister Janis Dinevics said today at a news conference. Already in May of last year, there was talk that a political government should be formed, but this intention was given up at that time, and a government of specialists was formed whose main consideration was how Latvia would survive. Now in the government a time of political solutions begins, and the new minister of state, together with his team, which will have approximately 20 workers and also invited experts, will search for bottlenecks in the work of the government and draw up proposals on how to make the work of the Council of Ministers more effective.

At present the government must tackle difficult and unpopular questions, the new minister stressed. The journalists were informed that in the future only closed sittings of the Council of Ministers will be held, and only Ivars Godmanis and Janis Dinevics will have the right to express the official government standpoint. Unfortunately, the new minister of state gave evasive replies to specific questions by journalists on the changeover to free prices and the changes in the payment for housing floorspace, which the government has discussed and which REUTER has already managed to report.

People's Front Congress on Government Powers

LD2311181591 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0530 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Yesterday we reported to you about the documents adopted at the Congress of the People's Front mentioning the document of the People's Front of Latvia on the action program for the freeing and restoration of Latvia. During this week you are being more broadly informed about these steps because of their great significance.

So today, first of all the most important subsection dealing with state power and local government in this document. It emphasizes that the present power of the Latvian state, because of internal and external circumstances, has not yet been able to eliminate the occupation of Latvia and its consequences. But the People's Front of Latvia, basing itself on the legal right of succession to the state, proclaimed as the independent Republic of Latvia on 18 November 1918, to which the state borders, citizenship, and constitution relate, is demanding the realization of the following principles and stances in the activity of the state power and local governments:

fundamental talks with the USSR or its legal (?representatives), so that both signatories to an agreement must recognize that the power of the USSR in Latvia after 17 June 1940 was illegal;

the restoration of the borders of the Latvian state must be attained in the terms laid down in treaties for that time;

by way of a bilateral treaty, the withdrawal of the USSR armed forces must be regulated and achieved;

the legal status of rightful citizens of Latvia whose citizenship was illegally withdrawn as a result of the occupation must be assured;

the restoration and creation of the institution and legislation of the Republic of Latvia must be based on the constitution [satversme] of 1922, observing international conventions and agreements;

until the resumption of activity by the legal Saeima of the Republic of Latvia, changes to the satversme and law on citizenship may be made only by a referendum of citizens.

In this document the People's Front of Latvia goes on to stress that in the restoration and creation of the institutions of state power, there must be consistent implementation of the division of powers, legislative and court powers—that is, mutually agreed balance and limitation. Therefore, the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia must immediately, in the view of the People's Front of Latvia, adopt laws on state control, on employees of state and local institutions, on defense of the state, on government, on the genocide against the Latvian nation and Latvian people by the occupying power, and on public and political organizations.

Then, in order to establish the powers of courts in Latvia, in the view of the People's Front of Latvia, there must be a restoration of the three-tier court system for regional courts. An administrative procedure must be worked out, and the independence of the courts must be confirmed by a guarantee. Likewise, in this first subsection, the People's Front of Latvia demands that a special program of action be initiated for local governments and for the freeing and decolonization of Latvia.

This then is the view of the program of action for the freeing and restoration of Latvia adopted in the first section at the Fourth Congress of the People's Front of Latvia. We will return to the program again tomorrow.

Official Says Foreign Debt Should Be Paid

OW2211173291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1643 GMT 22 Nov 91

[All figures as received; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Maris Gailis, chairman of the Latvian Foreign Economic Relations Department, has stated in Riga that according to Latvian Government estimates, in 1992 Latvia will receive about $20 million as a result of its foreign economic activities.

Of them, $8,830,000 will be channelled to the non-industrial sphere, $2,000,000—for ecological needs, $1,000,000—for the purchase of electric power stations' transformers and $10,000,000—for credits to enterprises.

Mr. Gailis believes Latvia should not refuse to pay its foreign debt.

Investigation Into 'Failed Coup' Continues

LD2411041891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2010 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] In Moscow an investigation continues into the case of the men involved in the failed coup last August, while in Riga another investigation goes on into the case of the former first secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia, Alfreds Rubiks. Our special correspondent, who has been following developments in Riga, Latvia has just returned to Moscow. Here is his story.

[Unidentified special correspondent] Passions have been running high around the figure of Alfreds Rubiks for several years. For some people he is the last hope of socialism, whereas for others he is someone like Judas who is opposed to the independence of Latvia. His personality caused a special interest in view of the failed coup in August. Alfreds Rubiks was arrested in his office for having taken an active part, according to the investigation agencies of Latvia, in the attempt to forcibly bring down the legal power. He is now in the Riga investigation jail. Our correspondent interviewed him there:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Do you feel like a political prisoner?

[Rubiks, in Russian fading to English translation] Yes, I feel exactly like a political prisoner because the charges against me contain no mention of any practical actions by me. There are only my evaluations of some particular events, and therefore I regard myself as purely a political prisoner.

[Correspondent] Do you expect that yours will be a show trial?

[Rubiks] I think my trial will be an open one, and if it is open and fair the absence of guilt on my part will be proved. [end recording]

[Announcer] Our special correspondent asked for comment on the interview with Alfreds Rubiks by a spokeswoman for the Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Latvia, Mrs. Rita Aksenoka, who heads a group of investigators into this case.

[Begin recording] [Aksenoka, in Russian fading to English translation] Mr. Rubiks has been charged on an article of the law that was in force on the territory of the republic at the time the crime had been committed. The charge is high treason. Under the article he faces a term of prison between 10 and 15 years. We yet give thought to how to qualify his actions further and how to phrase the final charge.

[Correspondent] How did Alfreds Rubiks take his arrest?

[Aksenoka] Well, he acted calmly and took it realistically.

[Correspondent] How's the investigation going?

[Aksenoka] We've already questioned about 1,000 persons. A great many documents have been seized in various parts of the republic and from the strong boxes of the Central Committee of Latvia's Communist Party, documents that had not been destroyed yet. There is a lot of material. Very important documents are from the Central Committee meeting of the Communist Party of Latvia dating back to last January when a program was actually adopted for a so-called public salvation committee. Already then the idea was to bring down the legal Supreme Soviet of the republic. The Latvian salvation committee itself was formed in November last year and so the unconstitutional plot in Latvia began even earlier than that in Russia. [end recording]

Jewish Victims of Nazi Genocide Remembered

OW2311192491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1405 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Sunday [24 November] Latvia's Jewish community will honour the memory of those who fell victim in the genocide against Jews on Latvian soil during World War II.

On November 30 and December 8 in 1941 the Nazis killed more than 30,000 Jews from Riga's ghetto in the Rumbula Forest outside Riga. In the summer of 1942 thousands of Jews from Eastern Europe were eliminated at the same place. On the whole the bodies of 70 to 80 thousand people lie in mass graves in Rumbula.

The mourning ceremony to be held in the Rumbula Forest on Sunday will be attended by the chairman of Latvia's parliament, Anatolijs Gorbunovs.

Lithuania

Kremlin Willing To Begin Negotiations

LD2211232491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2230 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] The Kremlin has officially communicated its willingness to begin negotiations with Lithuania. This intention is stated in a note of the Soviet Foreign Ministry received today by Lithuania's Foreign Ministry through Lithuania's legation in Moscow. The note says that the state delegation of the Soviet Union proposes to start consultations on organizing interstate negotiations in the near future. The note mentions among other things a generally known fact which, however, has not been officially announced in Lithuania so far, that Eduard Shevardnadze has been appointed head of the Soviet state delegation to hold negotiations with Lithuania. It's interesting that the note is dated 19 November and on that day namely Eduard Shevardnadze was reappointed Soviet foreign minister. Right after the appointment, however, Eduard Shevardnadze did not rule out the possibility that the head of the Soviet negotiating delegation might be changed.

Shevardnadze Meets Former Prime Minister

LD2311165891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1610 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 23 Nov (TASS)—Today Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of external relations, had a conversation with former Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiere Prunskiene. An exchange of opinions on the future of the development of democratic processes took place. This was reported at the information directorate attached to the USSR Ministry of External Relations.

NATO Establishes Diplomatic Relations

LD2311100691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2230 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Excerpt] The North Atlantic Treaty Organization announced today that it had established diplomatic ties with Lithuania. The NATO statement says that the head of the Lithuanian mission at the European Community, Ambassador Adolfas Venskus, will be responsible for establishing diplomatic relations. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Meets European Free Trade Team

OW2311191491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1405 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday [22 November] Lithuania's Prime Minister Gedimanas Vagnorius received in Vilnius a delegation from the European Free Trade Association (EFTA).

During the meeting his guests said that EFTA members Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Austria, Switzerland and Liechtenstein are willing to establish durable contacts with Lithuania to help it get integrated into Europe and make the transition to a free market.

According to the head of the delegation, Pekka Saila of Finland, a joint declaration on cooperation, whose draft could be signed as early as next month, would serve as the first step in this direction. As Lithuanian radio reported, G. Vagnorius assured members of the delegation that their proposals will be studied.

On Thursday [21 November] the EFTA delegation was received by Lithuania's leader Vytautas Landsbergis.

Prime Minister Meets Local Leaders

LD2411003691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] A meeting of the chairmen of the town and rayon councils, mayors, and governors was held today at the government house in Vilnius. Urgent problems of the executive authorities were described at the meeting by Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius, his deputies Vytautas Pakalniskis and Zigmas Vaisvila, and representatives of some departments.

Speaking of the economic reform and measures to stabilize the situation, the prime minister stressed that as yet there was no harmony in coordinating actions between the ministries and other departments, town, and rayon government structures. There were problems concerning experts working there. In assessing the situation following the price increase, the prime minister noted that they increased more than expected. Therefore, from 1 December the wages and compensation payments are to be increased. The government will continue to find ways to help those who need social support.

It was noted at the meeting that the town and rayon leaders should pay more attention to the work of those protecting the borders, the municipal police, and other law enforcement services.

The town and rayon leaders described problems they were encountering in distributing plots for individual constructions, in organizing transportation, the work of the enterprises of communal economy, and in privatizing the state property.

These and other issues will be examined by the government in the near future, and corresponding decisions will be made.

Landsbergis on Meetings With Italian Leaders

LD2411002191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] Vytautas Landsbergis said that his three-day visit to Italy and the Vatican has been memorable and impressive. As we already reported, having met with

Pope John Paul II, Vytautas Landsbergis reminded him that Lithuania was expecting his visit. The holy father said that such a visit was not far away. Preparations for such a visit should be helped by the opening of the Lithuanian-Vatican diplomatic channel. A papal nuncio should arrive in Vilnius shortly. The Lithuania representative at the Holy See, Stasys Lozoraitis, has been discharging these duties from before the war.

The Lithuanian parliamentary leader also met in Rome with Gulio Andreotti, chairman of the Italian parliament, President Francesco Cossiga, and the chairmen of both houses of parliament. Discussions took place with the Italian leaders about political support for Lithuania in demanding that the Soviet Army be withdrawn as soon as possible from the republic's territory.

According to previous reports, Rome has favorably responded to a proposal by Vytautas Landsbergis to grant government guarantees to the investments of the Italian businessmen in Lithuania's economy, as it has been done by the United States.

Commercial Air Links With West Expanded

OW2311200591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1729 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] One passenger plane will daily fly from Vilnius to West European countries as of December 20, said Vydmantas Vaskis, deputy director of the Civil Aviation Department of Lithuania's Ministry of Communications.

Planes of the "Boeing" and "Caravella" type will fly to Copenhagen, Frankfurt and Berlin thrice a week, he said. Somewhat later regular flights will be organized for Lithuanian planes to Zurich and London.

Under an agreement on cooperation between Lithuanian and Polish airmen signed on November 21 planes between Vilnius and Warsaw will fly every day, but Sunday.

Plastic Mines Stolen From Karmelava Depot

OW2311193491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1729 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] 20 plastic mines weighing 250 grams each without detonating devices were stolen from the depot of a military unit stationed in the village of Karmelava outside Kaunas. The leaders of the unit informed the police headquarters of Kaunas region about this on Thursday [21 November].

According to the military, the mines were stolen with the help of a sap dug under the depot.

Officials Fear 'Terrorist' Underground Exists

OW2311191391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1405 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At about 22:00 on Friday [22 November] Lithuanian frontier guards detained a car at the Sumskas post on the border with Belorussia, and discovered in it a rifle vith telescopic sight, a night vision device and cold steel [as received]. The car was moving in the direction of Belorussia.

BF [BALTFAX] was told at the operative headquarters of Lithuania's Home Defence Office that the carriers of the arms were two ethnic Poles from Lithuania. They were handed over to Lithuanian law-enforcers.

In the evening of November 6 several hand grenades were thrown at the frontier guards during the detention of a suspicious car at the same post. Having questioned the detained passengers of the car and conducted many searches, spokesmen for Lithuania's law-enforcing agencies said they have reasons to believe that there is a terrorist political underground in Lithuania.

Energy Minister Comments on Fuel Measures

LD2411044691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] It appears that the oil and gasoline crisis is growing in Lithuania. This week, following the start of increased restictions of gasoline sales for personal car use, lines of unprecedented length appeared near the gas pumps. They are much longer than those during last year's blockade.

Energy Minister Leonas Asmantas told an ELTA correspondent that with the considerable decrease in the supply of oil from Russia, economizing on energy resources will not be limited solely to gasoline rationing for personal transportation.

According to the minister, the supply of electricity to neighboring states may have to be interrupted once the energy supply plans, based on contracts drawn up for the year, have been fulfilled.

If a shortage of Lithuanian-produced energy continues even after that, the supply of energy to certain Lithuanian enterprises will also have to be limited, first of all to those whose heating resource management is disorderly.

The energy minister did not discount the possibility that the television programming may be abbreviated. We will not freeze, but for a certain period of time the apartment may have to be even cooler. The hot water supply, however, should not be interrupted, observed the energy minister.

Kaunas Imposes Restrictions on Gasoline Sales

OW2311022991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2030 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 22nd the Kaunas City Council imposed additional restrictions on gasoline sales to private individuals. From November 23rd to December 31st residents of Kaunas will be able to buy only 20 liters of gasoline (for 200 km). Gasoline will not be sold to residents of other cities.

Earlier, the limitations on gasoline sales to private individuals were put by the Lithuanian Government.

Conflicting Reports Cited on KGB Archives

OW2211164891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1426 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuania's Vice-Premier Zigmas Vaisvila has met in Vilnius vith the deputy-head of the Inter-Republican Security Service (USSR KGB) Nikolay Stolyarov to discuss returning to Lithuania the KGB archives removed from the republic.

According to the newspaper RESPUBLICA, N. Stolyarov said all the documents of any interest to Lithuania had been destroyed. The Lithuanian side refused to accept that, maintaining copies of KGB agents' lists were kept in Moscow, Ulyanovsk, and Saratov.

The vice-premier assured N. Stolyarov the papers were needed not for persecuting former agents, but for preventing their activities in future.

N. Stolyarov promised to give the request to the head of the Inter-Republican Security Service Vadim Bakatin and added those questions were subject to future talks.

Government on Results of Price Increases

OW2211172491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1643 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a meeting on November 21st the Lithuanian Government concluded that the recent 40 percent price hikes in the republic "had not frightened the consumers." In this connection, it allowed stores to raise prices on their own. After that prices are expected to rise by 30 percent more.

The newspaper "LIETUVOS AIDAS" reports that salaries, pensions and social allowances will be increased by 30-40 percent beginning from December 1st.

Labor Exchange Registers 3,630 Jobless

OW2311052291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2030 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On March 1st, the first day of the unemployment registration, the Vilnius labor exchange registered 3,630 jobless people. 1,400 of them receive welfare (at minimum 140 rubles and at maximum 700 rubles). A large part of the unemployed are former clerks. Among the people without jobs are economists, engineers, computer programmers and pedagogs. The labor exchange also registered 9 jobless journalists.

At the same time, there are some 3,000 worker vacancies in Vilnius.

Decision on Visas Passed

LD2411011891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] According to a government decision which took effect at noon on 20 November, until bilateral consular relations are established with foreign states, entry visas to Lithuania are issued to the citizens of those countries whose governments require entry visas from the citizens of the Republic of Lithuania.

Radio Vilnius was told at the department of consular agreements of the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry that this means that the citizens of the former Soviet republics and of eastern European states may come to Lithuania without entry visas. Lithuanian citizens can travel to those countries without visas, too.

As is known, some Scandinavian countries and Great Britain have stated that they would admit Lithuania's citizens without visas, but we will be able to use this facility only having Lithuanian Republic passports. The issuing of passports is to start at the end of this and the beginning of next year.

Russians Considering Choices for Homeland

OW2211142791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1127 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to Lithuania's State Center on Ethnic Affairs, 56 percent of the Lithuanian-based Russians consider the republic their homeland. Three-quarters of them claim to be Lithuanian citizens and are unwilling to move elsewhere.

Thirty percent say their home country is Russia. Nearly one-third of them would like to return there.

58 percent of the Russian-speaking respondents say they feel safe in Lithuania, and 21 percent live under permanent fear.

Fourteen percent have zero knowledge of the Lithuanian [as received], 16 percent cannot read in that language, and 25 percent cannot write in it.

Russian Organizations Appeal for Unity

LD2411074291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1549 GMT 23 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Serafim Bykhun]

[Text] Vilnius, 23 Nov (TASS)—The Russian Cultural Center, the Slavonic Society, and a number of other societies and associations have come forward with a joint appeal to all Russians living in Lithuania, calling on them to unite in a single organization. "In connection with the restoration of the independence of the Lithuanian Republic," it states, "we are faced with complex tasks relating to the preservation and development of our culture as it has formed in Lithuania, with centuries-old roots. We consider it to be of vital importance to unite for the sake of our future and the future of our descendants, having cast off those political differences and mutual insults that are obsolete today and having left only a number of compulsory conditions for unification: the loyalty of all members of the association, without exception, to the principle of the independence and territorial integrity of the Lithuanian state; to carrying out its laws; to participation in the protection of its economic, ecological, and legal interests; and respect for the language, culture, customs, and manners of Lithuania. This is extremely necessary for the survival of the community as a whole and for each of its members as individuals."

The association proposes setting up—in Vilnius and other Lithuanian cities—a system of charity, juridicial, and other aid; a historical and cultural foundation; and developing national, secondary, and higher education, trades, arts, and handicrafts and publishing.

Supreme Soviet

Highlights of 22 Nov Session Proceedings

LD2311014491

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2025 GMT on 22 November broadcast a recording of the highlights of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 22 November.

The recording began with RSFSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov in the chair. Khasbulatov introduced Aleksandr Petrovich Pochinok, chairman of the commission on budget, plans, taxation, and prices. Pochinok spoke about credit and finance back-up for reform. Pochinok asked deputies to look at the text of Yeltsin's recent decree on the subject, and, on behalf of the commission which has examined it, asked deputies to adopt an affirmative decision on it. The Russian banking system was ready to take on state bank functions. This does not mean the closure of the USSR State Bank as Russia has always backed a single union financial system. No one must have any doubt about Russia's ability to service the state debt. The Russian State Bank needs a new legislative framework for its expanded functions. He said they must not allow the bank to be divorced from the executive bodies. Pochinok noted that the proposed decision closely follows the Yeltsin decree. At 2036 GMT the draft decision was adopted as a whole.

At 2037 GMT Pochinok proposed a decision on setting up a Russian state depository for reserves of precious commodities attached to the RSFSR state bank.

Khasbulatov said that there is already a Yeltsin decree covering this, but there should be a rider that gold should be kept by the Russian state bank. After some discussion, it was decided to prepare a more detailed document and defer matters.

At 2041 GMT Deputy Zakharov, from the commission on social policy, came to the podium to talk about the minimum pay rate which is to be established throughout the economy.

Deputy Belashov asked about pensions, and Zakharov told him that the issue will be dealt with. Zakharov then discussed offical living wage definitions.

The recording ended at 2054 GMT.

Economic Reform, Yeltsin Decrees Debate Held

Bank Decree Rejected

LD2211132691

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1000 GMT on 22 November broadcast a report by parliamentary correspondent Nikolay Artyemyev at the plenary session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet, which opened today with a debate on financial and credit guarantees for economic reform and the reorganization of the RSFSR banking system. The Russian president's decree on the issue was rejected by a majority of votes. It envisaged the creation of a Russian Bank after the effective abolition of the USSR State Bank.

The resolution from the Budget Commission, which was accepted in its place, sees the RSFSR Central Bank taking economic control of the material and technical basis of the USSR State Bank. This resolution also stipulates that the RSFSR Central Bank should be regarded as the only body on the territory of the republic for the state's financial, credit, and currency policies. The bank will issue money to the central banks of other states working in rubles and to commercial banks. The resolution was refined by a special commission of deputies during the break.

Further on Bank Decree

OW2211163991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1407 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday [22 November] the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet's joint session of both houses almost unanimously killed the draft-decree by the RSFSR president on the financial and credit backing of the economic reform and reshaping the banking system. The draft featured Russia's state bank succeeding the former RSFSR central bank placed under the control of the federation's executive—the latter point rejected by parliament.

Another draft presented for discussion is of a Supreme Soviet's order providing for "Creating Russia's state treasury and state control over the use of precious metals and stones throughout the federation."

Under the draft-order the former USSR treasury is to be transformed and handed over to the Russian Federation, while the rights of the former RSFSR treasury are taken over by the concern "Diamond Center" set up within Russia's state corporation Almaz- Zoloto. The concern is to purchase jewels from the mines, sort them out and process them for sales in the country and abroad.

The prices for gold and other precious metals are to be set by the RSFSR central bank, as related to world prices and the ruble's commercial exchange rate.

A bill has also been presented to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet "On Raising Minimum Wages and Students' Grants" up to 342 rubles a month by December 1, "apart from the compensation introduced in April 1991 upon the rise of retail prices," or any bonuses or additional payments.

The joint session of the RSFSR parliament's houses will also consider a bill on amending and supplementing the clause in the Federation's law "On Competition and Monopolies Trading in Goods." The idea is to set up a RSFSR state anti-monopoly committee "to support new economic structures, develop market competition, limit monopolies and combat dishonest competition." The new committee is to work under the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, directly responsible to its Presidium.

Shakhray on 'Disturbing Situation'

OW2211191591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday [22 November] the Russian Supreme Soviet passed a decree "On the Financial Credit Guarantees of Economic Reform and the Reorganization of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Banking System." The document acknowledges the RSFSR central bank as the "only organ on the territory of the Russian Federation for state credit and hard currency policies." Until January 1, 1992, the central bank is obligated to "take responsibility for the entire management and direction of the material-technical base of the Soviet Gosbank," and its divisions in various regions.

The Russian central bank must register the Soviet Vnesheconombank as a commercial bank by December 15th in order to service Soviet foreign debt and control the bank's activities.

"The Russian parliament has overtly increased its power, attempting to be above the decisions made at the congress," said Russian state adviser on legal issues, Sergey Shakhray, in an interview with INTERFAX on the decree taken by the Supreme Soviet.

Friday morning, parliamentary deputies practically unanimously rejected a draft of an order with an analogous title, prepared by the Russian president's staff. This draft was on establishing the RSFSR State Bank as the heir to the Russian central bank. The draft also proposed that while republican acts are developed on banking, a banking system, the monetary system and state debt, the Russian president in agreement with a presidium of parliament would be empowered to decide all questions of guaranteeing the activities of the Russian Gosbank.

Sergey Shakhray noted that "a very disturbing situation is brewing here between the Supreme Soviet and the president. The confrontational position taken by parliament could lead to a situation in which neither the president's orders nor the Supreme Soviet's decrees are carried out, since they contradict each other.

At the same time, the Russian Supreme Soviet rejected the draft on the creation of a Russian Goskhran, claiming that it was incomplete.

Parliament passed the bill on raising minimum wage to 342 rubles, starting on December 1st. The government had suggested a raise to 200 rubles.

Deputy Pochinok Comments

LD2311013291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2025 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Address by Aleksandr Petrovich Pochinok, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet commission on on budget, plans, taxation, and prices, at the 22 November session in Moscow—recorded]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Supreme Soviet:

The president of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, RSFSR, has sent us a letter in which he expresses his well grounded concern with regard to the fact that the USSR State Bank fails to fulfill its financial obligations and implement its policy promptly. In particular, he has pointed out to us that over the nine months of the current year alone credit resources of the State Bank to the amount of almost 85 billion rubles [R] have been put toward financicng the Union budget. He has also drawn attention to other actions by the Union State Bank and the USSR Ministry of Finances which do not agree with any single USSR or RSFSR law. [passage omitted]

At present, the system of financing and accounting of the Russian Central Bank is ready to take upon itself the functions of the USSR State Bank, to open agents' [korrespondentskiye scheta] accounts for the republics, to ensure that transactions are being carried out with all republics in the Union of sovereign states, with all republics, and with all states. We are ready for this. Technical issues have been resolved. Therefore it is proposed to secure the situation, reinforce it, and include the USSR State Bank branches into the management. This does not mean, of course, that the USSR State Bank is to be closed. No, we are proceeding along the road of accords which have been reached and documents which have been signed. Russia has always favored the preservation of a single financial area on the territory of the Union. Russia has always been for the preservation of the transactions system, the preservation of currency. We have been consistently putting forward the idea of setting up a reserve system which would be federal in reality, the system of banks on the territory of the entire Union. Now we are making a completely logical step: we ensure that transactions are carried out on the territory of Russia, and we are proceeding further along the road of observing all accords. Furthermore, we propose the procedure of carrying out the emission. Please note that it is a very clear procedure. Yes, we are for preserving the ruble, for strengthening it. Therefore, it is our duty to implement fully the rights of the RSFSR bank which we have given to it by Article 11 of the Law on the Central Russian Bank. The Bank can do this. We must also fully agree with the proposals put forward by the president and take measures to ensure the status of the USSR Vneshekonombank.

We must on no account put even an ounce of doubt in anyone's mind that Russia is capable of ever refusing to service the foreign debt. That must not happen, particularly in the current situation. It is precisely for this reason, please note, that the Russian Central Bank is instructed to abide by a procedure whereby the Union Vneshekonombank is set in the framework of our Russian banking legislation, with our obligations nevertheless being kept, and the G-7 countries are unanimously demanding this. It is quite logical. We cannot follow the example of a certain former government which, as you will recall, refused to pay tsarist debts. That would be unthinkable. Naturally, if we adopt these changes we will have to make the necessary amendments to our legislation, and the president is quite right to say that these amendments are necessary. There must be changes in the legislation. We are enhancing the status of our Central Bank. We are rejecting... [changes thought] You will recall that we gave the Russian State Bank very many powers, did we not? It is now incapable of exercising these powers, and we are obliged to strengthen the Central Bank legislatively. We are obliged to consider the question of money circulation and adopt the relevant laws. We are following that path. We are following the path of changing the budget system. We are following the path of changing the banking system, and it is quite natural that even at this session we must make the necessary changes in legislation.

The only thing one simply cannot agree with unfortunately as far as the president's proposals are concerned is his assessment of the operations of the Central Bank where he writes that the Central Bank directs all its efforts at competing with commercial banks. Russia has created more commercial banks than all the remaining republics of the Union. There are unquestionably great difficulties on this path. Unquestionably we have a huge number of complaints as to the Central Bank's operations, and it is with good reason that the commission suggests that you discuss the bank issue at the Supreme Soviet session. It is a very thorny issue. You can see what is going on in the press. You can see for yourselves both the successes and mistakes of the Central Bank, and we need to recall that we have to consider the issue of the bank's board of directors. We have to hear a report from the bank, and it is right that the chairman of the board of the Russian Central Bank says that the Supreme Soviet pays little attention to the bank. We have to examine this. We have to get to the bottom of it, and that is why we have included a suitable point in the decision and ask you during the indicated time frame to consider this and sort it out and determine the bank's tasks, its policies, its credit policy, the policy as regards the actions of its management and attitude to commercial banks, which we have to enhance and strengthen.

We need to create thousands upon thousands of commercial banks. We need to define how we are going to operate in the credit sphere. There is a great number of issues, but what we cannot permit—and I very much ask you to agree with this point of view—is this: We cannot agree with the bank going to the executive structures of power. I will remind you that in the law on the Russian Central Bank we made provision for the bank's relations with the executive authorities. We determined that the Russian bank is the depositary and fiscal agent of the government. We made it incumbent on it to coordinate its actions with the government. We made it incumbent on the Russian bank to deal with cash fulfillment of the budget. We made it incumbent on it to service the state debt. We made it incumbent on it to carry out operations to float state loans, etc. In other words: to perform all necessary functions. The direct involvement of the bank, in whatever form, in the structure of executive bodies of power at a time when the budget system has not been put to rights would signify the complete and uncontrolled utilization of Russia's means and resources by the government, however good it may be, and would create a possible danger that Russia's national wealth would be squandered. It would create a danger of a lack of control over the actions of the Russian Government.

I can now simply set this out point by point. All the points in the decree, all the points in the decision coincide fully with the president's decree. Point one: We acknowledge the Central Bank to be the sole organ of state monetary and credit policy. That is what the president is asking for. Under point two we define the procedure for the hand-over of the subdivisions of the Union State Bank necessary for this point to be implemented. Again, this is what the president is asking for. Under point three we determine the procedure for issuing money. Again, this is fully in accord with the president's draft decree. Under point four we instruct the Central Bank to take over the keeping of State Bank accounts. It is extremely important for us to do this. We absolutely have to do this because there must not be a halt to account transactions, and on this point we are not straying from the decree in any way. Under point five we instruct the Central Bank to bring the operations of the Vneshekonombank into line with Russian banking legislation. This is in full accord with the president's decree. Under point six we determine the obligation of the Central Bank chairman to provide us with an account of his activity. This is absolutely essential. Under point seven, also in line with the ideas that lie at the basis of the president's decree, we ourselves ask you to establish the time frame for consideration of changes to our banking legislation.

Filatov on Banking System

OW2311183291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1419 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "Russia's parliament and government have basically different approaches, as seen from Friday's [22 November] debate on the banking system," journalists were told on Saturday [23 November] by First Deputy-Chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Sergey Filatov. Attempts to back the economic reform from the legal point of view only by presidential decrees, he warned, "may result in chaos should the decrees conflict with the current laws."

Emergency rules applied to managing the national economy, warned S. Filatov, "cannot make Yeltsin's economic reforms more effective." In that case the principle of division of powers will be under a "freeze."

S. Filatov rebuked the government for insufficient consultations taken in preparing presidential decrees and for failing to state what changes in existing laws they might require.

He said a meeting between parliamentary leaders and members of the government on Saturday at 15:00 will work out a mechanism for discussing draft-decrees under Russia's Economics Minister Yegor Gaydar, on the one hand, and a parliamentary commission led by another deputy-chairman of the Supreme Soviet—Vladimir Shumeyko—on the other.

Judging by his talk with the Deputy RSFSR Premier Gennadiy Burbulis on Saturday morning, S. Filatov expects a negative response from Boris Yeltsin to the results of debates on his decrees in the Russian parliament.

Deputies on 'New Bank'

LD2411114291

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1655 GMT on 23 November broadcast a program entitled the "Russian Parliamentary Herald" program focusing on Yeltsin's draft decree setting up an Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, central state bank. The interview is conducted by Rasul Mikhaylov, member of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, with Yu. M. Voronin, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and Aleksandr Petrovich Pochinok, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet commission on budget, planning, taxation, and prices.

Mikhaylov said the new bank will replace the USSR State Bank and have the same unique status. Voronin explained the reasons for creating it or for "reorganizing the banking system from the point of view of economically consolidating the reforms being carried out in the Russian Federation." The Union Finance Ministry and USSR State Bank have been "putting excessive amounts of money into circulation without due legislative backing." This violates the recent economic agreement and ignores the former Union republics. This is being done at a time when the Russian Federation is in the throes of reform. It is economically harmful as well as illegal. In nine months, 85 billion rubles were requested but only 33 billion rubles by decision of the country's president. The rest was agreed on "in the corridors" by the Union Finance Ministry and the State Bank. Prices have risen, partly as a result of this. Yeltsin wants the new bank to be the only emissions bank. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet today agreed on the appropriate resolution.

Mikhaylov asked Pochinok what would stop Yeltsin "from carrying out operations of some kind independently of the Supreme Soviet." Mikhaylov replied that there are plenty of safeguards. Adequate money supply will be ensured under a unified policy. The new bank will have no problems in its relations with the republics.

Voronin said the RSFSR Supreme Soviet has firmly rejected the idea that the central bank should be controlled by the president. "In all civilized coountries, the banks are a function of parliament."

Mikhaylov asked about inflation and "the dumping of money into Russia by sovereign states and former Union republics that are about to introduce their own currencies." Voronin replied that "until a banking union is set up, the emission and ruble exchange rate functions of the State Bank will be tranferred to the central bank of the Russian Federation." The new bank's functions will be strictly laid down and it will be barred from commercial activity. Thus, it will not compete with even the smallest commercial bank. Pochinok said this should set businessmen's minds at ease. Voronin agreed.

Voronin Speaks on Reform

LD2211154691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1945 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Speech by Yuriy Mikhaylovich Voronin, deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet at the 20 November session in Moscow; from the "At the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Session" program—recorded]

[Text] You will recall, esteemed people's deputies, that at the last congress a decision on the lawful provision of economic reform was adopted. In this decision, in paragraph three, it was agreed that drafts—and I stress the word drafts—of presidential decrees on questions of banking, exchange, currency and finance, foreign economics, investment and customs activities, the budget, price fixing, etc., which conflict with the existing legislation of the RSFSR, are to be presented by the RSFSR president to the Supreme Soviet, or in the period between sessions to the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. Over a period of 10 [as heard] days from 11 to 18 November, the Presidium discussed the most complex question of presidential decrees.

We predicted that we would be faced with a certain wave of these decrees and laws. We tried to form a mechanism as to how we, the Presidium, the committees and commissions, and the Supreme Soviet should act when these decrees reach us. On 11 November the Presidium adopted a decision on certain questions in the adoption of decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies on the lawful provisions of economic reform. The essence of the issue consists of forming a certain mechanism for action. You will find information about the decision here; in other words, to whom these decrees are directed and how to act on them. One of the points of this mechanism is the following: On the instructions of the first deputy, together with the committees and commissions, we created a working group for the preliminary working of presidential decrees. That is, inasmuch as the timescale of the validity, or rather the existence, of one decree or another or of a draft law, in the Supreme Soviet is limited, we must react very swiftly to this draft decree or law. In other words, we deemed it possible to set up a group of people's deputies who, together with the committees and commissions, would swiftly look through this or that draft decree or law—in accordance with our law which has been adopted by you—and would adopt decisions together with the committees and commissions. In other words, we sought to agree or disagree with the draft decree or law.

In order to create a clear passage for these draft decrees and laws, we have prepared a list of legislative documents adopted by supreme soviets and submitted to the present session of the Supreme Soviet for discussion, as well as a list of legislative documents that are now being drafted and worked through by committees and commissions. This is needed in order to prepare, together with the government, a schedule for the drafting of draft decrees and laws. We in the Supreme Soviet received 12 governmental decrees and resolutions last week. Those decrees and resolutions have been very carefully considered by this working group I was talking about and by committees and commissions. Let me tell you very briefly that we discussed them at a meeting of the Presidium. Here is the decision we arrived at: First we discussed the president's decree canceling restrictions on wages and on the increase of means allocated for consumption. Economists know what I am talking about. You remember Abalkin's restrictions. If now you were to discuss the draft law on taxes, remember that we talked about the fact that the introduction of a tax on revenues lifts this restriction. Due to the fact that our code of laws has not yet been adopted, the president's decree cancels restrictions on wages and on the increase of the means allocated for consumption. He also asked the Presidium to cancel point six of Presidium's decision dating back to 19 April 1991. Due to the fact that the latter conforms with the law, we supported the president's proposal. In other words, there were not any legislative questions here, in our view.

The most complicated issue is connected with president's decree giving a pay raise to employees of budget organizations and institutions. This decree is based on a government decision introducing a minimum wage in the RSFSR. What is the core of the matter? The core of the matter lies in the following fact: The decree giving a pay raise to employees of budget organizations envisages an increase in existing tariff rates and wages for almost all employees working for organizations that come under budget financing. This increase is to be 90 percent from 1 December 1991—by 90 percent. It is expected that an increase in tariff rates and wages by 90 percent will take place and will be the same for everybody.

The government resolution introduced a new norm instead of this norm—to introduce a minimum wage from 1 December of 200 rubles per month, taking account of compensation introduced from April 1991.

Of course, these two documents aroused a certain amount of objection from the Zakharov committee and were discussed with great attentiveness by the Presidium. Indeed, a situation has taken shape in the realm of the budget in which some workers have had their wages regulated. This is planned for others but not yet implemented, while a third group has not had this done and as yet it is not even envisaged. You have three levels. With these rates of pay being raised by the same amount, the unjustified imbalances that have come about in wage levels are preserved; second, this effectively repeals the resolution which has already been passed but not yet implemented concerning raising wages and puts many structures of state administration in the best position.

This flaw in the decree could have been dealt with entirely if it had been presented to us not in the form of a decree but in the form of a bill, as documented in point three of the congress resolution. That is, if a bill had been presented to us, then we and the government could have regulated this legal norm.

An even more complicated situation has arisen concerning the minimum wage level. You will probably recall that from 1 October 1991 our minimum rate of pay was 180 rubles per month. Consequently, the higher minimum rate of pay, increased in accordance with the decree by 90 percent, would, from 1 December 1991, be 342 rubles. At the same time, our minimum wage has been set by government resolution at 200 rubles, which is 142 rubles lower. I am not going to go on listing the whole inventory. I have to tell you that we reached agreement. This means that we will be passing a legislative resolution. We will submit it to the Supreme Soviet concerning changing this minimum rate, the minimum wage. On these two decrees we have agreed with the government that there will nothing more of this sort. The bills will be presented to the Supreme Soviet.

I will inform you about another group of decrees: I am talking about the extraction and use of precious metals and diamonds on the territory of the Russian Federation. You will remember that Boris Nikolayevich spoke here—and the participants gave this idea a very good reception—about the government decision on measures to make financial provisions for the economic reform and to protect the financial system of the RSFSR. At first sight it would appear that the ideas have been correctly set down, but the president's decree and the government's decision have transferred the state depository of the RSFSR and made it subordinate to the Ministry of the Economy and Finance, which is a crude violation of our legislation. A decision was made by the Presidium—

we prepared it a long time ago—that a state depository of the RSFSR will be formed on the territory of the Russian Federation and that it should be made subordinate to the central bank of the Russian Federation under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Soviet. No objection to that arrangement was received from the government. This issue will be tabled at the Supreme Soviet on 22 November.

The government has tabled a resolution on the organization of work resulting from the elimination of ministries and other bodies of state government of the USSR, but the resolution is so amorphous, so to speak, that it is impossible to understand from the resolution itself what is being transformed and what it is being transformed into. In addition to everything, it is considered to contradict our laws. The Presidium therefore decided to make an appendix to this government resolution indicating what property is being transferred and to whom this handover is being made. This will be in accordance with our existing legislation.

The president's decree on social partnership and the resolution of labor disputes and conflicts is a very interesting decree and provoked a very lively discussion. It contradicts our legislation in that we have adopted a decision that when ministries are turned into concerns, the concerns and the sub-departments that belong to them in the management sense should not be given the opportunity to implement their own line. The complete right is given to disband. We have therefore agreed to suspend the operation of this decree until amendments to the laws are adopted by the Supreme Soviet. They are already prepared and will be tabled at the Supreme Soviet either on 21 or 22 November. This refers to the law on enterprises and entrepreneurial activity and to the law on the collective agreement.

The committees and commissions and the Presidium had no observations to make on the other decrees and government decisions.

Parliament 'To Strip' Yeltsin's Power

LD2211163391 Moscow TASS in English 1619 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS parliamenary correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—As Russian Republic President Boris Yeltsin is pressing ahead with his plan of radical economic reforms, the Russian parliament on Friday [22 November] passed several resolutions canceling some of his key decrees.

Chairman of the Legislation Committee Sergey Shakhray said it was "a black day." He said the law on minimum wages and stipends approved by the parliament will most likely be vetoed by Yeltsin since there are no funds in the republican budget.

"As a result, Yeltsin will become a bad president in people's eyes," Shakhray said.

He also warned the growing confrontation between the Russian president and the republican parliament will lead to even more chaos in Russia.

Shakhray said the parliament also plans to strip Yeltsin of the extra powers he was granted by the Fifth Congress of Russian People's Deputies. He stressed the legislation violates congress resolutions and "breaks the rules, and will force the president to convene a new congress".

Precious Metals Decree Rejected

LD2211163791

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian at 1230 GMT on 22 November broadcast a report by parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Semina on today's session at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet in Moscow.

A conciliatory commission discussed the issue of increasing the minimum wage and grants, Semina said. A decision on it is to be adopted later today. M. Zakharov, cochairman of the Commission for Social Policy, reported today that prices have increased 3.3 times compared to 1 April this year and that at present the subsistence wage is about 400 rubles, she said. The commission proposed that a minimum wage for all workers be set at R342 and that a mechanism for raising this minimum be envisaged. So far, no one knows what figure will be final. Zakharov demanded that a minimum pension be set now at R342 and that proceeding from this the rest of the pensions be raised by 1 March, Semina said.

Deputies adopted a decision on credit and finance provisions for the economic reform and on the organization of the RSFSR banking system. This decision states that the Central Bank of Russia is the only body of the state monetary, credit, and currency policy on RSFSR territory. A complex of measures to strengthen the ruble has been mapped out.

A draft decision on setting up Russia's State Depository for valuables and the organization of state control for supervising the use of precious metals and stones on RSFSR territory has been declined.

Gaydar 'Denounces' Presidium Decree

LD2411022191 Moscow TASS in English 2244 GMT 23 Nov 91

["Yegor Gaydar Denounces Resolution of Russian Parliament"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—"The Friday [22 November] resolution of the Russian parliament, which turned down the draft decree of President Yeltsin on the crediting and financial background of the economic reform and the organisation of the banking system crossed out the broad prerogatives needed for implementing radical reform and getting the country out of the crisis, which were given to the president by the Congress of People's Deputies," Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation Yegor Gaydar said today in an interview with the Inform-TV news programme.

In his opinion, the parliament "adopted the legislative acts determining the economic policy, which dramatically speed up inflation.

"By our estimates, it may go up by 70-80 times next year, if we adopt such methods," Gaydar stressed. "I do hope the government and the parliament will find ways to establish effective cooperation, in which we all are interested."

Official Says Yeltsin To Freeze Presidium Power

LD2411132591 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2115 GMT 23 Nov 91

["Politics"—POSTFACTUM subhead]

[Text] [no dateline as received]—Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet does not exclude the possibility that Russia's President Boris Yeltsin will attempt to freeze the Supreme Soviet of Russia.

Sergey Filatov also said to a PF [POSTFACTUM] correspondent that Boris Yeltsin's reaction to the decision taken by the Russian parliament on November 22 would undoubtedly be negative. Filatov believes that Yeltsin would probably like to get rid of those who exercise control over him and tie his hands. If president's views are out of kilter with the legislative framework created by the Supreme Soviet, there is a single way out: to abandon the whole system, created, by the way, under the guidance of Mr. Yeltsin. If so, he must proclaim that only presidential power remains and it will be solely the president who will, by creating the new legislative framework, lead the society out of the crisis. Then there will be no 'war'. But I still don't know what is to happen next, says Mr. Filatov.

According to him, the Supreme Soviet has not exhausted its potential, and a single power structure not controlled by anybody would not be able to bring the society to the civilized stage. Sergey Filatov thinks that November 22 is a black day for both him and Sergey Shakhray, a black day in relations between legislative and executive powers of Russia: It seems that Sergey Shakhray thinks that economic reform should be conducted only with presidential decrees. Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, does not preclude the possibility of the present tense relations between legislative and executive powers of the RSFSR have arisen due to a premeditated maneuver by the government.

Leaders Express Views on Draft Union Treaty

LD2511085691 Moscow TASS in English 0828 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin's intention to initial the treaty of the Union of Sovereign States to replace the former USSR has been supported by Sergey Shakhray, chairman of the Russian parliament's legislation committee.

Shakhray told TASS that the Russian leadership should not act as the initiator of the disintegration of the Union. On the contrary, it should seek every chance to preserve the single economic space in the interests of the Russian Federation and avert civil war in the country.

However, not everybody is of the same opinion in the Russian parliament. Mikhail Zakharov, who chairs the parliaments's social policy committee, says it is unclear how the president of the confederation should be elected: He cannot be elected by a majority of the votes cast by citizens of the Union; a majority will be needed in every sovereign state of the Union. The proposed confederation, he said, will be based on fairly weak links between its subjects, independent sovereign states.

Zakharov is not over-optimistic about prospects for better social conditions in Russia after the treaty is signed. He said Russia would have to give away more than get and thus stand to lose more than to gain.

Filatov on Stance Toward Checheno-Ingushestia

LD2411112291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 24 Nov 91

[Text] Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, told journalists that, according to information at the disposal of the Supreme Soviet, a referendum is due in Ingushetia on the issue of setting up an Ingush republic and its status within the RSFSR.

Commenting upon General Dudayev's lifting of martial law in the Chechen Republic, Filatov described this move as aimed at proving that Dudayev is in command of the situation.

The first deputy chairman of the Russian parliament emphasized that in spite of information about Chechen emissaries being sent overseas to purchase arms, Russia does not intend to use force in the Northern Caucasus and will continue to try to work out a mechanism for the political resolution of these problems. Filatov reiterated that such emissaries have gone to Turkey and Hungary.

According to Filatov, the economic instability of Checheno-Ingushetia is worsening. In saying this, he noted that Russia has not taken any measures to exert economic pressure. Filatov stated that the Russian leadership is worried about the deterioration of the crime situation in

Checheno-Ingushetia as well as about the people surrounding Gen. Dudayev, as people of dubious character are among them.

Draft Law on Criminal Procedure Examined

PM2511100191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "At the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The Committee on Legislation submitted for examination by the Presidium a draft law "On Amendments and Additions to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Code of Criminal Procedure." The gist of the changes is that Russian citizens, as is common in the civilized world, should have the right to judicial verification in order to confirm the legality of arrest or detention.

However, RSFSR General Prosecutor Valentin Stepankov called the proposed draft law premature: An examining magistrate, with 60-80 criminal cases in the works at any one time, will be physically incapable of examining complaints by arrestees or detainees (and there are around 600,000 in the republic annually) within a day. When finalized, the draft law will be submitted for examination by parliament.

Apparently, in elections for RSFSR people's deputies Russian citizens will continue to sign for ballot papers in order to prevent forgeries. Voters will also have six months to check whether a particular people's deputy won honestly. These procedures are envisaged in the additions to the Law on the Election of RSFSR Deputies proposed by the Central Electoral Commission, which will be examined by the Russian Supreme Soviet.

Having discussed the question of the procedure for bringing into effect the RSFSR Law "On the Social Protection of Citizens Affected by Radiation as a Result of the Disaster at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station," the Presidium members agreed that Russian sources of finance need to be sought in order to implement this law. Mention was also made of the RSFSR Government's unsatisfactory work to implement the law on the social protection of the victims of Chernobyl.

Having examined the question of creating a Russian State Depository for Valuables and organizing state monitoring of the use of precious metals and gems on the territory of the RSFSR, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium approved the turning of the USSR State Depository for Valuables into the RSFSR State Depository for Valuables under the Russian Federation Central Bank.

The Presidium instructed the relevant RSFSR Supreme Soviet commissions and committees to prepare a Supreme Soviet draft resolution on the matter and submit it in the very near future for examination by the Russian parliamentary session.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decided to make an appeal to the RSFSR president in connection with his recent decree on the RSFSR State Depository for Valuables. According to this decree and the government resolution, the State Depository is run by the Ministry of Economics and Finance and is not under the RSFSR Central Bank. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Preisidum proposes that the Russian president reconsider the question of the State Depository's place.

More on Yeltsin Germany Visit

President Arrives in Bonn 22 Nov

LD2211153191 Moscow TASS in English 1531 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS special correspondent]

Text] Bonn Nov 22 TASS—A hearty public welcome was accorded in Bonn to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who visited today the city hall in Marktplatz Square.

Greeting the guest, Bonn's oberburgomaster Hans Daniels stressed that the people of Bonn were well aware about the Russian president's leading role in putting down the August putsch. "During those alarming days," he noted, "the people of Bonn followed with hope and appreciation the course of events in your country".

Daniels said that interest in Russia was mounting among the people of Bonn. Growing numbers of young people are going to Russia in order to make first-hand acquaintence with it. People from Moscow and other Russian cities are becoming ever more frequent guests in Bonn.

In his reply speech Yeltsin expressed the conviction that direct contacts between Russia and Germany would go on developing. He said that a joint statement was signed on Thursday [21 November] with federal chancellor Helmut Kohl "outlining ways for our cooperation in the coming years". The president of Russia stressed that agreement was reached to sign an "all-embracing treaty between Russia and Germany", which, in his opinion, would be an important contribution to stability both in Europe and outside the continent.

The Russian president signed the city's "golden book" of honourable visitors.

Yeltsin was heartily cheered when he was leaving the city hall. The crowd chanted, "Yeltsin, Yeltsin", "Mr. President, Come Closer". In violation of the programme, the Russian leader mixed with the crowd. Dozens of people were eager to shake his hand, to get his autograph or to be photographed next to him. This gave the square an air of holiday festivity. Yeltsin found it difficult to make his way to the car through the crowd and to leave the square in order to meet German President Richard von Weizsaecker on time.

Meets German President

LD2211145391 Hamburg DPA in German 1217 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Bonn (DPA)—Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker assured the Russian Federation of "moral and practical" support from Germany. During a lunch for Russian President Boris Yeltsin at Villa Hammerschmidt today, Weizsaecker said that the path of comprehensive reforms that Yeltsin has marked out will be "long and difficult" and is unlikely to succeed without outside help. Germany will continue to stand ready to help.

Weizsaecker also emphasized that because of the size of the task, efforts have to be supported by other countries, too, and coordinated to a great extent by international institutions. The federal president particularly thanked Yeltsin for his commitment to the reestablishment of a Volga republic for Russian Germans. "We want to see the joint German-Russian heritage flourish," Weizsaecker said. "The peoples' willingness for this is there on both sides." [passage omitted]

During an exchange of opinions with Weizsaecker lasting about 90 minutes, Yeltsin discussed the critical situation in Russia and referred in particular to the necessity of facing the next six months. They will be difficult not only because of the price increases necessary for the reforms but will, above all, require great sacrifices from the people because of the winter. During this time the aid efforts from their neighbors, namely the Germans, are especially important.

Weizsaecker said the German population last year showed great willingness to give aid despite the problems of the unification process and that in the future, it will be receptive to the problems in Russia. Germany has no claim on a monopoly with respect to relations between the West and Russia, but it supports the Russian desire to return to Europe.

Attends Von Weizsaecker Dinner

LD2211184391 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Bonn November 22 TASS—German President Richard von Weizsaecker is honouring Boris Yeltsin with dinner in his Bonn residence.

It is the first meeting of the two presidents, which will help them get to know each other better in the interests of the development of traditional Russian-German relations, Von Weizsaecker told correspondents before the beginning of the meeting.

Russians and Germans are connected by traditional political, cultural, economic and human relations, the president said. They have acquired and continue to develop a special sounding in the current period of great reforms in Russia.

The name of Boris Yeltsin is closely linked with the current reforms. Germans, from the bottom of their hearts, wish every success to the reforms, which seems to be impossible without foreign help, Weizsaecker said.

As it was before, Germany is ready to assist Russia with words and deeds. However, efforts of other countries are also needed, taking into account the difficulty of the tasks.

In his turn, Yeltsin said Russia and Germany are the biggest European states as far as their human and economic potentials are concerned. This lays great responsibility on the governments of the two countries for the destinies of both their peoples and the whole of Europe, and urges Russians and Germans to search for mutual understanding, partnership and cooperation.

The meetings I have had made me sure we will find lots of spheres and specific projects for mutually beneficial economic cooperation, Yeltsin concluded.

Meets With Foreign Minister

LD2211163691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0953 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By unidentified special TASS correspondent]

[Text] Bonn, 21 Nov (TASS)—The second day of the visit to Germany by Boris Yeltsin, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president, was also filled to the brim with meetings and conversations. It began early in the morning with a working breakfast with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. For an hour, questions of practical cooperation between the RSFSR and Germany in the foreign policy sphere, as well as the situation in Russia and other republics and measures to stabilize it, were discussed.

Along with other questions, Yeltsin noted in a conversation with journalists problems connected with the eastern part of Germany and Russian enterprises that maintain economic ties with it. Agreement was reached on coordinating actions in that sphere. They discussed the problems of the Ukraine, where processes may now take place which are complex for us and for the country. There are still many meetings ahead today, including ones in the Bundestag and with business circles. We must continue working, noted the Russian leader.

Answering a question about assistance from Germany, he pointed out that the specific volume was not discussed and said he does not intend to raise this question. We must create the conditions for that assistance to flow, said Boris Yeltsin. He did not exclude social unrest if problems connected with supplying the population with foodstuffs are not resolved.

The subject of creating a German autonomous region was not discussed during the conversation, noted Genscher. Problems of economic ties between entrepreneurs in the former GDR and Russian enterprises and possibilities for preserving these traditional relations were discussed intensively. This is important for both sides. In Germany, as a result of this, jobs will be preserved, while for Russia this will mean deliveries of machines and equipment essential for modernization. Both sides agreed that first and foremost it is essential to modernize Russia's power engineering industry, which will give an impetus to bring up other sectors. In the view of the leader of the foreign policy department, this problem can be resolved within the framework of an international consortium. Germany does not intend to monopolize the resolution of that task, he said.

Meets Parliamentary Leader

LD2211210891 Moscow TASS in English 1900 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] Bonn November 22 TASS—Russian Republic President Boris Yeltsin on Friday [22 November] met German parliamentary leader Rita S. Suessmuth to discuss the development of contacts between Russia and Germany. Yeltsin invited Suessmuth to visit Moscow.

The Russian president also met Johannes Rau, prime minister of the Rhine-Westphalia Land. They focused on cooperation between Rhine-Westphalia and Russia, including German experts' help in training Russian managers in Moscow.

Rau and Yeltsin agreed to develop contacts in power engineering, ecology, agriculture and in reforming administrative structures.

Rau said Russia and Rhine-Westphalia have longstanding ties. He stressed Yeltsin did not conceal the complexity of the situation in Russia and promised to press ahead with his reforms.

Rau said it was a useful and fruitful meeting, although some of the issues were not discussed.

Speaking about the construction of the "Russian House" in Dusseldorf, Rau said the agreement to build this business centre was signed by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Yeltsin stressed, however, the issue will be handled by Russian authorities now. He said a German business centre will be opened in one of the former Soviet ministries in Moscow.

Later in the day, the Russian leader left for Cologne for a meeting with German business people.

Yeltsin Addresses Industrialists, Businessmen

Discusses Debt Repayment

LD2211150191 Berlin ADN in German 1154 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] Cologne (ADN)—Speaking to the eastern committee of German industry, Russian President Boris Yeltsin assured that despite the complex political and economic developments in the USSR, no foreign creditor will lose its capital. If individual republics do not meet their obligations, Russia will take on a "significant proportion" of those debts, Yeltsin said in Cologne today.

Otto Wolff von Amerongen, chairman of the eastern committee, spoke in favor of rebuilding economic relations with the regions and republics of Russia now that the Soviet Union is breaking up in its present form. Despite continuing uncertainties concerning the settlement of the USSR's foreign debts, reopening relations with Russia is a priority. Wolff stressed the stabilizing effect of economic cooperation. He said that deepened cooperation in the raw materials and energy sector is a good way for the Russian economy to receive hard currency in the short-term. Wolff referred to the current German plans for projects in the agricultural sector, particularly in food processing and transport. The conversion of military-industrial plants should also be a focus for German-Russian cooperation. He also underlined the readiness of German industry and economic organizations to provide more know-how for the development of free enterprise.

Yeltsin, who is accompanied by 50 representaives of Russian enterprises who want to establish direct contacts with German industry, attached greatest importance to economic relations with Germany. He named oil and gas extraction as the major area for cooperation. The Russian Federation has over 60 percent of the world's known deposits of these raw materials.

At present around 250 enterprises in Russia are operating with German capital investment, Yeltsin said. He described the spread of the investment as unsatisfactory, as 4/5 of the named 250 enterprises are in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Yeltsin said more enterprises like this should be established both in Russia and in Germany.

Comments on Economic Relations

LD2211212391 Moscow TASS in English 1926 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Cologne November 22 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin met representatives of the German business community at the "Exchange Hall" of the German Industrial and Trade Chamber today.

Local observers attach special significance to the meeting, since Yeltsin's visit is expected to create prerequisites to boost economic and financial cooperation between Germany and Russia.

The meeting was also attended by leaders of almost 50 Russian ventures, wishing to establish direct contacts with German firms.

Welcoming the president, chairman of the Eastern Committee of German Economy Otto Wolff von Amerongen pointed out that Russia is acquiring an independent role as a trade and economic partner of Western nations, as the Soviet Union is turning into a union of sovereign states.

The German economy will continue to support Russia in the solution of specific issues, he said. The expansion of cooperation in this sphere will be a "stabilizing factor" for the republic.

In his opinion, the interaction between business communities from Germany and Russia will be most efficient in power engineering, extraction of minerals, production of foodstuffs, conversion of the defence industry and personnel training.

Von Amerongen pointed to the need for the integration of Russia and other republics of the former Soviet Union in the system of international economic relations. In this case, he believes, foreign investors will again show their interest in Russia with its huge potentials.

In his turn, the Russian president stressed he attaches special importance to the expansion of trade and economic relations with Germany. He assured that the Russian Federation will consistently fulfil the agreements previously reached between Germany and the Soviet Union.

"I guarantee that the autumn of 1917 will never repeat in relations with our creditors. Not a single creditor will lose his money. In case the republics fail to come to an agreement, Russia will be ready to take upon itself the payment of a considerable part of the Soviet foreign debt," Yeltsin said.

Speaking of profound economic reforms in the republic, the Russian president informed the audience on priority measures to stabilize the production, consumption and finances. The nucleus of the economic reform is privatization, in the words of Yeltsin.

He told German businessmen that the Russian Government is completing the preparations of radical documents to liberalize foreign economic legislation of Russia to the maximum extent.

"The Russian economy will be genuinely open for foreign entrepreneurs. It will happen in the nearest future," assured the president. In addition, Russia has taken the way towards direct participation in international financial and trade organisations, agreements and conventions, he said.

Noting that almost 250 joint ventures with the participation of German firms have been registered in the republic, Yeltsin called on business people from Germany and Russia to more fearlessly enter a direct dialogue to discuss and fulfil specific projects of cooperation.

Speaking of priority areas of economic interaction between Russia and Germany, he mentioned cooperation in production, storage, transportation and processing of foodstuffs, production of consumer goods, reconstruction of plants of the light, textile and food industries, and creation of modern pharmaceutics industry.

At the same time, the president called for the preservation of trade and economic relations between Russian amalgamations and East German firms.

"We view the use of the Russian huge economic potential as the way to develop long-term mutually beneficial cooperation with the business community of Germany and other foreign countries," Yeltsin stressed. "We are determined to occupy a worthy place among democracies, which rightfully belongs to Russia, and I am sure this will happen."

The president expressed profound gratitude to Germany for the aid rendered to the Soviet Union.

German Business Community Reacts

LD2511084391 Moscow TASS in English 0824 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondents Konstantin Savvin and Viktor Chistayakov]

[Text] Bonn November 25 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Germany, that ended last Saturday [23 November], evoked considerable interest in the local business community. In popular view, talks and meetings held in Bonn and other German cities lived up to the expectations entertained by German entrepreneurs, who sought to obtain maximum first-hand information about the political and economic situation in Russia, its leadership's plans and radical reforms and prospects for bilateral cooperation.

"German business people were looking forward to Boris Yeltsin's visit," Karl-Herman Fink, who is in charge of the Eastern Committee of the German industry, told TASS. "Now after meetings held here, we think there is a good basis for expanding our cooperation despite Russia's critical situation at this moment. We believe that the time for changes has come. It should not be seen as a catastrophe but rather as an inevitable transition period. The construction of a new building has begun, and German business people, who are interested in the Russian market, are well aware of the this and are full of understanding."

The central question for German entrepreneurs is what practical steps President Yeltsin will make along the reform road, Fink says. A business community is primarily interested in practice, not theory.

"I must say with all sincerity that many German entrepreneurs believe this is not the most favorable time for major investments in the Russian economy. But preparatory work, including active market research, is already underway, and ever more German entrepreneurs are looking at Russia with interest."

"I am optimistic about prospects for economic cooperation between Russia and Germany," Cornelia Wolfart, who chairs the Leipzig fair's board of directors, told TASS. "This city, which has maintained firm links with Russia for a long time, intends to help expand them in all possible ways. The new areas of united Germany have been a traditional market for Soviet goods with Russia as our major partner. The preservation of mutually beneficial relations is of decisive importance for our common future."

"We attach special attention to cooperation in such fields as power-engineering, transport and industry," Wolfart said. We invite business people from Russia to take part in our fairs where they will be able to find Western partners with which to realise joint projects.

"We are now working to establish direct contacts with German entrepreneurs and set up investment funds to help restore our industries," Aleksandr Khazhakian, executive manager of the Russian commodity and raw material exchange, told TASS.

Khazhakian was one of the fifty representatives of Russia's business community who accompanied Yeltsin on his trip and discussed specific cooperation projects in a variety of fields with their German opposite numbers.

According to Khazhikian, negotiations on these projects are now well underway and positive shifts have appeared. "Much understanding has been shown by our German partners," Khazhakian said, "but it is too early to speak about any activity on the part of German entrepreneurs and financiers—they feel constrained by the lack of normal economic legislation and political instability.

"However, we have no intention of waiting for things to sort themselves out. We are working to create preconditions for expanding the cooperation base.

"Western experts are now helping develop required legislation, and a number of bills will soon be submitted to the Russian parliament. We count on support from President Boris Yeltsin and deputies."

Yeltsin Statements on Volga Germans Cited

LD2311022591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2137 GMT 22 Nov 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Russian President Yeltsin is continuing his visit to Germany. To a considerable extent the discussions there are dealing with our problems, and some of the things that have been said might be of interest to us. For instance, Yeltsin told German journalists that we are standing on the brink of the abyss, with one foot already dangling in the air, and now we are hopping on the other foot in an attempt to back away from the brink. The Germans were interested in other statements by the Russian president during the course of his visit.

[Correspondent V. Kondratyev] During Boris Yeltsin's visit to Bonn—on which, despite the absence of diplomatic relations between the FRG and Russia, he was received as the head of a foreign state—not everything went smoothly, and it was not just that the Russian president has not yet quite grasped the subtleties of local protocol, which of course the chancellor knows far better.

The Germans were somewhat taken aback by certain statements made by Yeltsin on the eve of the visit. For instance, his statement that the return of Soviet Germans to their ancestral territory along the Volga does not look feasible was seen here as backtracking on previous positions. At the same time, there are thoughts in our country of offering them a sparsely populated piece of territory of 6,000 square km not far away. Reports say this land was formerly occupied by military ranges where various kinds of weapons were tested.

The discussion was not easy for Kohl and Yeltsin, and the formula coined for the joint statement—a separate protocol on the question of Soviet Germans was not signed after all—includes only one word: namely, ancestral. Russia has thus declared, for the first time in an official international document, its resolve to restore the republic of the Soviet Germans in the ancestral places of residence of their forebears along the Volga. Moreover, the interests of the current population there are not to be restricted. As yet this is a statement of intent, but as early as next week a German delegation is off to Moscow for further discussions. As far as one can judge, Yeltsin did not manage, prior to the visit, to overcome once and for all the resistance of local authorities along the Volga.

Knowing the firm position taken by the Germans, one can foresee difficulties arising in cooperation between Germany and Russia if our country does not keep its promise to grant Soviet Germans true autonomy. For the moment, the chancellor and his entourage are not displaying particular anxiety, but how things will be later on is hard to say in the current atmosphere in our country, where everyone is defending local interests.

Further on Volga German Question

LD2311044191 Moscow TASS in English 1551 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Chistyakov]

[Text] Bonn November 22 TASS—A German governmental delegation will arrive in Moscow next week to discuss with Russian officials prospects for restoring an autonomous Soviet republic of ethnic Germans in the Volga region, a German governmental spokesman said on Friday [22 November].

He said the sides will discuss proposals made by Russian President Boris Yeltsin during his meeting with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

These include two different approaches. According to the first, the republic will be restored on the territory of the former autonomous republic, abolished in 1941. It will occupy a territory of about 3,000 square kilometers.

The other variant proposes to create the republic in a different region on territory previously used by the Soviet Defence Ministry.

Germany is keen to help restore the ethnic German republic, fearing a massive tide of Soviet immigrants into Germany after the Soviet Union opens up its borders.

Yeltsin Arrives in Stuttgart, Speaks on Arrival

LD2311104791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0925 GMT 23 Nov 91

[By TASS special correspondent]

[Excerpt] Stuttgart, 23 Nov (TASS)—[passage omitted] Last night Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who is visiting Germany, arrived in this town aboard an FRG Air Force plane. At the stairs of the plane he was met by Erwin Teufel, prime minister of Baden-Wuerttemberg, and other members of the regional government. The official meeting ceremony took place in the "Neues Schloss" government residence.

Welcoming the guest, Erwin Teufel stressed that in the eyes of the people of Baden-Wuerttemberg, Boris Yeltsin is a symbol of the struggle for perestroyka and a resolute supporter of democracy and freedom. Having noted that the Russian president is visiting Germany at a difficult time for the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and other republics, the prime minister stated that the West must give quick and comprehensive aid to Russia in setting up democratic and market structures. According to him, it is in everyone's interest to deal successfully with this matter because it is an issue concerning Europe's future.

"I could not fail to visit Baden-Wuerttemberg," Boris Yeltsin said in his reply speech, "inasmuch as this region is first in terms of trade and economic ties with Russia." This applies especially to the training of skilled cadres for the RSFSR: true masters of their craft.

Russia, he continued, is open today for all businesspeople, firms, enterprises, and organizations who wish to cooperate with it. "Therefore, conquer Russia's market; we invite you to cooperate," the RSFSR president said to the applause of those gathered. In conclusion he stressed that the aim of the present visit is not "to try to get money and credits," but to create conditions for the development of mutually advantageous cooperation.

The same day Erwin Teufel gave a dinner in the RSFSR president's honor.

Stuttgart Visit Detailed

LD2311152591

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian at 1030 GMT on 23 November broadcast a report by correspondents Viktor Levin and Anatoliy Stepkin on the visit to Germany by Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

The reporters noted that in Stuttgart the Russian guests visited the Daimler-Benz concern, which has already established direct contacts with Russia. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin was taken around the center of the city, and the residents of Stuttgart gave a bakery plant to Russia as a gift, the report notes. Today's agenda includes visits to Berlin, Potsdam, and Wunstorf, where a meeting with Soviet servicemen and their families will take place.

Levin said "the visit can be called a clear success with good reason." He continued: "It has proved possible for Yeltsin to establish quite good personal contacts with Kohl, especially bearing in mind that our President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is viewed with enormous affection here in Germany and the fact that the public treats all other politicians from our country, I would say, with some restraint. They look at everything from the point of view of how Gorbachev would like it and how it will affect our relations with Gorbachev. It can be said that harmony has been established. Relations with Yeltsin have developed without damaging relations with Gorbachev.

"I think it is important to note that this psychological mood has brought concrete political results. Last night my colleague Anatoliy Stepkin and I were telling you about a meeting between Boris Nikolayevich and business circles. Judging by the initial reaction, it seemed to us that Yeltsin's speech was received with some restraint, but today a different conclusion can be made: Boris Nikolayevich did pursuade entrepreneurs in Germany that the Russian leadership is in a very decisive mood, that the reforms which will be implemented will create the necessary conditions for profitable investments of German capital in our country, and that this will be in the interests of German manufacturers as well as Russia."

The report concludes by noting that Yeltsin's visit ends at 2100 tonight, at which time the Russian president will fly back to Moscow.

Yeltsin Addresses Group of Soviet Armed Forces

Says Visit 'Very Successful'

LD2311195991 Hamburg DPA in German 1901 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Text] Wuensdorf (DPA)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has evaluated his talks in Germany as very successful. "The visit exceeded my expectations," he said this evening at a meeting with members of the military at the main headquarters of the Western Group of Soviet armed forces in Wuensdorf, which is south of Berlin. Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Brandenburg Prime Minister Manfred Stolpe took part in the meeting.

Yeltsin, who addressed the soldiers as "fellow citizens and countrymen," hitherto unusual in Russia, decisively objected to the creation of national armed forces in the former Soviet republics. Russia will be one of the last republics to create its own armed forces and will only do this if forced. Nuclear weapons must also remain under the control of a unified command.

Earlier, Colonel General Matvey Burlakow, commander in chief of the Western Group, told Yeltsin that the troop withdrawal plan for this year will be fulfilled. More than 168,000 men, among them 50,000 family members, and 33,000 pieces of equipment and weapons have so far been withdrawn. According to Burlakov, two-thirds of Western Group personnel originate from Russia.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who also talked to the soldiers, said Yeltsin's visit has opened up a "new chapter in the joint history of Russians and Germans." The foreign minster added: "The Germans are partners and friends upon whom you can rely, also in finding solutions to the difficult problems you have facing you."

Further on Address

LD2411150391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1257 GMT 24 Nov 91

[By unidentified TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Wuensdorf, 24 Nov (TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Germany ended last night with a visit to the headquarters of the Western Group of Forces. He was accompanied on his trip to meet the troops by FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Brandenburg Prime Minister Manfred Stolpe, and other officials.

The eminent guests arrived in Wuensdorf late at night. It was raining, but thousands of garrison residents waited patiently for the motorcade to arrive. The Russian president and those accompanying him were welcomed by Colonel General Matvey Burlakov, commander in chief of the Western Group of Forces. The state anthems of Russia and Germany were played. Yeltsin, Genscher, and Stolpe reviewed the honor guard. Then they headed for the garrison's officer's mess to meet representatives of the officer corps of the Western Group of Forces and members of their families, as well as sergeants and other soldiers.

Boris Yeltsin gave a welcome speech to the gathering. He noted that a number of documents had been signed during his visit which substantively altered the quality of Russian-German cooperation and placed it on a higher level.

The problems of Soviet servicemen deployed in Germany constituted a specific topic in the talks, the Russian president said. You must know that troop withdrawal has already begun. Our military units will be switching their present locations for Russian ones from 1992 to 1994. We have much work ahead of us. We have to provide humane conditions in which servicemen and their families can serve and live, and appropriate conditions for their social acclimatization. We intend to build 47,900 apartments in Russia for returning servicemen. Work is being started on residential estates in Voronezh, Kursk, the Moscow region, and Krasnodar. A system of vocational retraining and assistance to those who are swapping their soldier's uniforms for civilian clothing is being established.

The situation in the USSR Armed Forces and military problems are causing society more and more concern. Above all there is alarm over the establishment of national armies. As president of the republic, I can state that Russia will not be the first to create its own army. I appeal to all republics to follow suit. We also advocate unified nuclear forces, including strategic missile troops, air force, and naval nuclear forces. They must unquestionably be under a single command.

We are ready to support new initiatives for the further reduction of nuclear weapons, and subsequently, within the framework of the military reform that has commenced, for the reduction of conventional weapons. I think it is time to seriously think about concrete steps toward integration into a European-wide system of security, and then, possibly, into a similar world system.

Much is spoken and written about a Russian National Guard. Here and there "hotheads" are recruiting guards on their own initiative. The Russian Guard is primarily being set up on the basis of the existing internal forces. It will not be very large.

Of course, all of these problems cannot help but worry us. The situation of our servicemen and members of their families who are in Germany is far from simple. It is no secret that a surge of enmity in relation to them can now be observed. The fate of Soviet property on German territory, first and foremost military property, is of concern. All of these issues have been raised by us and have been discussed during talks with German leaders. Noticeable progress has been made, emphasized the Russian president.

In you, dear Soviet servicemen, we welcome representatives of the courageous Russian people and other peoples of the USSR, noted Hans-Dietrich Genscher in his speech. The Soviet people, like we Germans, are well aware of the fact that today they are living in a united Europe. There are no ideological barriers between us any more. Our common goal is to ensure a peaceful future for all peoples of the continent.

Yeltsin's visit opens a new page in relations between Germans and Russians. I hope that Soviet servicemen returning to their homeland will remember Germany as a friendly country, said the FRG minister of foreign affairs.

After the ceremony in the officers' dining hall, Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Manfred Stolpe left Wuensdorf.

To conclude his visit to Wuensdorf, Boris Yeltsin spoke to the command of the Western Group of Forces.

Late in the evening, Boris Yeltsin left for his own country from the Sperenberg military airfield.

Yeltsin Says Germany Visit 'Important Landmark'

LD2211183591 Moscow TASS in English 1527 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] Bonn November 22 TASS—The picture of the Russian president standing on a tank in front of the Moscow White House and his appeal to defend democracy will be remembered by Germans for a long time, said Hans Sterken, chairman of the Bundestag commission for foreign political affairs, welcoming Boris Yeltsin. The Russian president, now on a visit in Germany, attended an extraordinary session of the commission, one of the key bodies in the German parliament.

According to Sterken, the Russian leader played a prominent part in the defeat of the August putsch in the Soviet Union and the consolidation of democratic trends of social development. Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev have made a decisive contribution to ensuring the unity of Germany and promoting the process of the creation of new Europe, he added.

Following this greeting, a lively discussion took place on prospects of the development of universal bilateral relations, the establishment of direct interparliamentary relations between Germany and Russia and the expansion of contacts with the Council of Europe and other international organisations.

German legislators showered Yeltsin with questions. He assessed his visit to Germany as an important landmark in the development of German-Russian relations and pointed out that Russians would not forget the firm assistance rendered to them by the German leadership and people during the August putsch.

The Russian president spoke about the main direction of Russian economic reform and the complex developments on the territory of multinational Russia. [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1150 GMT on 22 November in a similar report adds the following: "Speaking about the main direction of the economic reform in Russia, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president admitted that it will be difficult to implement what is planned in conditions of a deep crisis which the country is living through. At the same time, he said, there are no grounds for pessimism for this is not the case of 'another experiment.' Here it is a question of commonsense and of returning to a normal state in society. The Russian Government believes that a changeover to a market is impossible if the peoples' needs are forgotten.

["Speaking about a complex situation which is being formed on the territory of multiethnic Russia, Yeltsin stressed that Russia's leadership intends in its activities to proceed on the bais of the following principles: preservation of peace in the republic, recognition of the sovereignty of all state formations in the RSFSR, and the preservation of a united Russia where one can speak only about a voluntary unity of peoples."]

Touching on international problems, Yeltsin said that the integration processes in all spheres of life in the European continent are impacting significantly on the countries coming out of artificial isolation and joining the European Community. Fuller and broader contacts between Western and Eastern Europe will influence more positively the domestic processes in those countries. According to Yeltsin, Russia is ready to take an active part in the creation of new Europe and is going to develop bilateral contacts with all European countries and participate in the work of European organisations. Russia fully supports the CSCE process and will promote its development and expansion. In its foreign political activities Russia intends to uphold the international legal commitments of the Union.

During his conversation with the legislators Yeltsin reiterated that Soviet nuclear weapons would remain under a single command.

Economic Accord Signed

LD2411151191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 24 Nov 91

[Text] Boris Yeltsin has concluded his visit to Germany. We have reached agreement with the German leaders that favorable conditions will be created in Russia for German investors and that it will be profitable for them to invest capital in our republic.

Boris Yeltsin noted this on 23 November during his visit to the headquarters of the Western Group of Forces in Wuensdorf. He was accompanied by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, German vice chancellor and foreign minister.

Boris Yeltsin also said that Russia and eastern Germany have a common communist past, which, fortunately, they have succeeded in breaking. According to the president, it is proposed to restore all Russia's contractual economic links with this part of Germany and with the former socialist countries of Europe. There are no incurable economic diseases, Yeltsin said. This is well understood in Germany. Indeed, Germany will provide assistance in overcoming our problems. An accord has been reached on food aid for the coming winter.

Boris Yeltsin noted that his visit has been a fine start on the course to the joint future of Germany and Russia. It is important that personal contacts have begun with German leaders.

Further on Outcome of Visit

LD2311184191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Report by special correspondents Viktor Levin and Anatoliy Stepkin]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], ended his visit to Germany today. Our special correspondents Viktor Levin and Anatoliy Stepkin have summed up the preliminary results of this working visit.

[Stepkin] The preliminary results of this visit could be divided into three stages: the first is political, the second is economic, and the third is military. Political conversations took place mainly during the first day. They have resulted in the signing of a joint political statement and protocols of intent, and on how relations between Russia and Germany will be built in the future.

The meeting with German industrialists was probably the most important event of the second day. It became clear after that meeting that there is a basis for mutual cooperation and trade, that there is mutual interest, and that contacts have been established . It seems that at present it is necessary to develop and deepen them.

A most important event of today, the third and final day, in my opinion, was the meeting with representatives of the Western Group of Forces in Wuensdorf. Aspects of Soviet troop withdrawal from German territory were examined. This issue is of mutual interest. All three aspects are equally important both for Russia and Germany.

One can say, looking at it this way, that the visit has been a success.

[Levin] Anatoliy Stepkin has already said that the visit could be divided into three aspects, so to say: political, economic, and military, and I would also add personal. Quite good relations have been established between FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl and RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin. In light of these facts, I think that the statement by FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker to the effect that Germany is prepared to help us in word and deed in implementing our reforms—and he is right to say that the road of reforms in Russia will be long and stony, but nevertheless Germany is prepared to help us in word and deed—is a very important point. I think that this is a most important result of the trip by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin to Germany.

Yeltsin Says Visit 'Successful'

LD2311231991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 23 Nov 91

[From the Vesti newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The last day of President Yeltsin's visit to Germany was extremely full. [passage omitted] Before leaving for Moscow, Boris Yeltsin gave an interview.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] I consider that the results even somewhat surpassed my expectation, speaking frankly, and with regard to the business side as well: the signing of the joint statement, the discussion of our joint problems, and the issues of our future cooperation, as it were, and moreover in very specific form, the accord on the signing of an all-encompassing treaty between Russia and Germany. It should be said that both the business side and the human side, as it were, were good. There is a feeling that they really are inclined toward good cooperation and this is our friendship—of Russia—and the friendship of the peoples of Germany. This should be at the fore of the situation in Europe as a whole, even be a bridge of sorts in the Asiatic-Pacific region as well. In general, I consider that the trip was successful and we also reached agreement on a number of issues relating to the winter period, that help be given to us with foodstuffs. [end recording]

Wrap-Up of Germany Visit

LD2411211291

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian at 1330 GMT on 24 November broadcast "The World This Week" program presented by All-Union Radio foreign political commentator Valentin Gubernatorov. Participants include Professor Boris Mikhaylovich Kholosha, a leading member of the academic staff of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Athens correspondent Vyacheslav Alekseyev; Bonn correspondent Anatoliy Stepkin; special correspondent Viktor Levin; and commentator Aleksandr Antsiferov.

Gubernatorov introduced Kholosha as an expert on European security. Kholosha said the latest Rome session was a notable event since never before has so much attention been paid to changes in the USSR and Central and Eastern Europe. NATO's new strategic concept is set to strengthen the bloc's constructive political role and turn enemies into partners, Kholosha continued, welcoming NATO's statement that its aims couldnow be achieved politically. NATO's military strategy, he said, is no longer orientated towards a mass invasion from the East. Instability is now seen as the main danger, Kholosa added.

Antsiferov commented that regional conflicts are springing up "like mushrooms after rain." All of Europe is worried about what is happening in Yugoslavia, he said. There is covert foreign interference in the shape of illegal arms deliveries, and foreign political forces have an interest in weakening the country adding to its territorial disintegration, Antsiferov said. The right of the Serbs to self-determination should be recognized and foreign interference must cease, he added.

Gubernatorov said there is another problem, besides regional conflicts and territorial disputes, which greatly worries the Western allies in NATO. Unfortunately, this problem applies first and foremost to our country, he said, and this is the problem of control over nuclear weapons. Quite obviously we have to admit that the West is right to be worried about this, Gubernatorov said.

Kholosa said that because of all these factors, the declaration on events in the Soviet Union issued by the Rome session of the NATO Council contains a special appeal to leaders to pursue a policy conducive to strengthening international peace and security. He stressed particularly that this declaration welcomes the Soviet leadership's intention to ensure secure, responsible, and reliable control over nuclear weapons, concentrated in the hands of a single authority. Gubernatorov said that this subject—single control of nuclear weapons—was touched on during Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Germany.

Levin commented that Yeltsin's visit was a success and that Yeltsin has every reason to be satisfied. Although recognition of Russia in international law was not mentioned in so many words, the joint declaration signed on 21 November by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Russian President Boris Yeltsin contains all the elements needed for such recognition, he said. Levin added: "I am profoundly convinced that the smile which very often graces Boris Nikolayevich's face is not a forced one but one which comes from the heart, as they say."

Levin said significant progress was made on the question of autonomy for Soviet Germans. An autonomous German state will be reestablished in the area where the Volga Germans have traditionally lived, he added, so what remains to be settled is the details. "However, I have to agree with my German colleagues who say that the details are the hardest part. The difficulties which lie ahead are quite obvious," Levin said.

Levin moved on to the issue of Honecker. He said: "Although Yeltsin did, basically, explain his position, his reasons, for saying that Honecker should be extradited to Germany, in a convincing way, the form of his statement and the exchange of rejoinders between him and Kohl were not wholly courteous, to put it mildly. Let the Germans judge for themselves how Kohl conducted himself on this occasion, but to be honest, I found Yeltsin's behavior offensive. Conduct which might be acceptable in the Russian parliament is not appropriate on the international diplomatic stage."

Levin said Yeltsin's speech to the Bundestag's foreign affairs commission was an exposition of the tenets of new political thinking and can be described as an example of state wisdom. Yeltsin stressed the importance of interdependence among the republics and stated clearly that Russia opposes nuclear status for individual republics, he adds. Only the Union of Sovereign States, not republics, should have nuclear status and there must be united control, he said.

To summarize, Gubernatorov said, Yeltsin's first foreign visit as president of Russia has gone quite well and to the mutual satisfaction of the sides.

Yeltsin Ends Visit, Flies Home

LD2411010191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0020 GMT 24 Nov 91

[By TASS special correspondent]

[Excerpts] Wuensdorf, 24 Nov (TASS)—A three-day visit by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to the FRG hs ended with a visit to the headquarters of the Western Group of forces on 23 November. [passage omitted]

Boris Yeltsin left for his homeland late at night from the military airfield.

Belorussia

Accounts at Union Foreign Economic Bank Closed

LD2211192391 Moscow TASS in English 1900 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Zenkovich]

[Text] Minsk November 22 TASS—The Belorussian Government on Friday [22 November] ordered that all hard currency accounts opened by republic's legal entities with the Soviet Foreign Economic Bank be closed.

Enterprises and organisations have been instructed to transfer their currency funds to the republican Foreign Economic Bank within two weeks.

Cabinet Approves Food Regulation Resolution

LD2411053791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0900 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Text] The Belarus [Belorussia] Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on the introduction of regulations on the sale of goods to the republic's population. Local authorities must ensure the sale of all goods only to the population of Belarus. To achieve this, lists, vouchers, and consumer identification cards must be used. Passports or any other document which prove one's identity must be shown in shops. Often local authorities suggest attaching city dwellers to specific shops according to their place of residence. This resolution was dictated by the situation that has arisen following the introduction of free prices in neighboring Lithuania. Many inhabitants of that republic rushed to Belarus shops and are grabbing everything.

Minsk Militia Threatens Strike Over Wages

LD2411042591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 22 Nov 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The majority of the members of staff of the Minsk militia have refused to receive their next wages. If they are not increased they will begin a strike.

[L.B. Sobolevskiy, deputy minister of the Belorussian Ministry of Internal Affairs] Here one can really understand them. People are continuing to fulfill their duties, they are going to work normally. No one has suspended work. And this is evidently the main thing. This means that the issue is formulated in such a way that in actual fact our government, and possibly both the commission and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, should return to this issue in the immediate future, too. I will not say that this year the militia has not been resolving this issue. The militia has already increased its wages. But the state of our economy and the market is going ahead at such rates that the militia once again turned out to have sufficiently meager earnings. But the prices are rising at such rates that a member of the militia staff with a wage of 400 rubles who has a family, who has children, and undoubtedly a wage like this, such money will not provide for such intensive work and service as you get in the bodies of internal affairs.

Moldova

Prime Minister Announces Debt Memorandum

AU2211143891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1343 GMT 22 NOv 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/11/1991—The prime minister of the Republic of Moldova, Mr. Valeriu Muravschi, announced at a news conference that the government had signed a memorandum whereby the republic pledges to pay back its quota from the debts of the USSR, MOLDOVA-PRES reports. "The signing of the memorandum does not impose palpable obligations in this respect," Mr. Muravschi said. In that context a mechanism will be worked out whereby debts are paid back. Furthermore, an expert commission will be created to compute the quota of debts for each republic as well as its quota from the hard-currency reserves of the former USSR.

The prime minister quoted the arguments that determined the signing of the memorandum: "If we want to be a civilized state, we have to pay back our debts; failure to accept the formula of the memorandum would have been a serious hurdle to our attempt at integrating into Europe; by signing that memorandum we hope to get financial aid and credits from the Group of Seven."

Gagauz Moves Termed 'Anticonstitutional'

LD2311095591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0730 GMT 23 Nov 91

["Decision by Presidium of Parliament of Republic of Moldova"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Chisinau, ROMPRES 22/11/1991—"Any attempt at dismembering and declaring independent territories of the Republic of Moldova can only be considered as an infantile political game, with no reason and legal base, and the leaders undertaking such actions suffer from political myopia," shows a decision of the Presidium of the parliament of the Republic of Moldova.

In context, the Presidium adopted a decision that dubbed as anticonstitutional the Gagauz statal information and considered all the decisions it adopted, including the law on the designation of a president and the decision to elect him on December 1 this year and to organize a referendum on the independence of the so-called Gagauz republic as null and without legal effects, the national news agency MOLDOVA-PRESS reports.

Gagauz Leader Responds

LD2311130891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2200 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] The Presidium of the Moldovan parliament has adopted a decision which classifies decisions made by all bodies of the Gagauz Republic, including the law on presidential elections and the decision to hold them simultaneously with a referendum on 1 December, as invalid and without legal force.

Gagauz Supreme Soviet Chairman Mikhail Kendigelyan [title as heard] described this decision as unconstitutional. The presidential election and referendum laws, he said to a RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent, were adopted by decision of a congress of deputies from all levels in the Gagauz Republic and reflect the will of the people. For that reason the Kishinev decision will have no effect on the planned elections.

Snegur Remarks on Economic, Political Situation

OW2211171091 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1407 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldova's President Mircea Snegur has declared that the main danger for the republic is in the economic field.

He said in an interview with the Romanian newspaper ADEVERUL that the economic disruption has acquired an unpredictable character despite concluding a treaty on economic cooperation.

Another imminent danger, in his opinion, is in the attempts to split the republic. Though the separatists have been given guarantees of their rights, they continue their subversion, promoting a federation or a confederation within Moldova. The president refuted accusation of dictatorial tendencies and of reviving former communist structures. Snegur mildly criticized the reception given to a delegation of Moldova's People's Front by Romania's President Ion Iliescu.

People's Front Holds Antigovernment Rally

AU2411181491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1651 GMT 24 Nov 91

[Text] Chisinau (Kishinev), ROMPRES, 24/11/1991—A meeting was staged on November 24 by the People's Front of Moldova, participated in by over 5,000, devoted to "the social and economic situation of the Republic of Moldova".

The rally was opened by Valeriu Matei, a parliament member and member of the Executive of the People's Front, who stated that Bessarabia now "can have no future if we do not separate from the Soviet empire". He considered that the signing of the economic treaty and of the memorandum by the prime minister was a grave political mistake and an "enslavement" to the Soviet empire. The speaker enlarged upon the problem of "Romanofobia", considering it as a "disease" that spreads as any other disease and it is caused only by those who do not wish the people well.

The proclamation of the front on the recently signed memorandum was read out. The proclamation blames the action and attitude of Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi. At the same time, the rally participants signed the "appeal for the redemption of Romanian citizenship". Slogans were shouted against the president and the government and boards were carried with the inscriptions "The Union is sovereign", "Down with the dictatorship".

Dnestr Republic To Keep Military Property

PM2511105191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 20 Nov 91 First Edition p 5

[Colonel N. Mulyar report under the rubric "Direct Line": "And Now the Dnestr Region Too..."]

[Text] At a meeting with unit commanders, I. Smirnov, leader of the Dnestr Moldavian Republic, stated that all military units on the territory of the Dnestr Moldavian Republic are being put under its jurisdiction.

"What caused the question to be posed in such a manner?" your correspondent inquired with curiosity.

"We have always been and we remain in favor of unified Armed Forces. However, several republics, including Moldova, have announced the nationalization of military and other property belonging to the troop units on its territory. No reaction followed either from the Ministry of Defense or the president of the former USSR. The people became frightened about what would happen in the future. Officers' meetings held in many of the units stationed in the Dnestr region adopted appeals to the Supreme Soviet of our republic to place them under its jurisdiction. The people are alarmed: What does Moldova need an army and weapons for? After all, it declared itself a demilitarized zone only recently.

We are threatening nobody, Smirnov noted. The purpose of our decision is not only to preserve the Armed Forces intact, but also to provide social protection for servicemen and their families, and to defend the Dnestr Moldavian Republic.

Border Crossing Suspended Due to Cholera Risk

AU2311165091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1051 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev], ROMPRES, 23/11/1991—The Government of the Republic of Moldova reached a decision on steps to improve the situation at the customs office at Leuseni, MOLDOVA-PRES news agency reports.

Starting November 25, 1991 crossing through the customs of private persons, groups of tourists and businessmen is suspended until a special disposition is issued. The justification for that step are the limited transit capacity of the customs office at Leuseni, the growing tourist flow and the lack of elementary catering and accommodation facilities, which tenses interpersonal relations and deteriorates sanitation running the risk of cholera in the territory of the Republic of Moldova and in neighboring states.

Ukraine

Kravchuk To Take 'No Part' in Union Treaty

OW2311170791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1419 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "I will take no part in the Novo-Ogaryovo process, that is talks on signing a new Union Treaty," said the chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Leonid Kravchuk while canvassing in a presidential campaign in the village of Kiselev, Chernovitsy region. "All allegations that I mean to join the treaty later are nothing but fiction," he added.

L. Kravchuk is the strongest candidate in the presidential election to be held in the Ukraine December 1. He pledged an unswerving fight for independence.

Fokin Gives Briefing on Foreign Debt Issues

LD2411233591 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 24 Nov 91

[Report by correspondent Ihor Bak on briefing given by Ukraine Prime Minister Vitold Fokin for foreign and domestic journalists in Kiev on 23 November, including recorded segments of Fokin remarks]

[Text] [Announcer] A briefing for Ukrainian and foreign journalists on the failure to sign the memorandum on repayment of foreign debts of the former USSR took place yesterday in the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. Our correspondent Ihor Bak reports:

[Bak] Vitold Pavlovych Fokin, the prime minister of Ukraine, said at this briefing that Ukraine approaches all international commitments of the former USSR in a responsible way, including the servicing of its share of the external debt. The head of our state government explains the absence of his signature on the corresponding memorandum by only one thing: by the aspiration to sort out the debts and determine the sum total of both assets and liabilities of the former USSR. Experts of the Ministry for External Economic Contacts and the Ukraine's Ministry of Finance have been doing intensive work for quite a long time now on problems of apportioning the debts and assets. They are in Moscow now. However, unfortunately, they are unable to receive full information there. And I do not know whether our expert there will be able to achieve anything at all, the prime minister of Ukraine said.

[Fokin] Back in the beginning of November we proposed holding in Kiev a meeting of heads of governments of the former USSR subjects, precisely with the aim of finally settling these issues. It was envisaged concluding the meeting by signing the treaty I have just mentioned. Unfortunately, and through no fault of our republic, this meeting did not take place. This gives us grounds for thinking that there are certain circles and, possibly, certain persons who, well, let us put it this way, are simply not interested in disclosing this information.

[Bak] The fact that the full text of the so-called package of propositions of the G-7 countries on stabilizing the economy in the former USSR is kept secret from its former republics indicates that this may really be the case. We were not allowed to get our hands on it, the head of Ukraine's Government said at the briefing, and were invited to accept it after merely having it read out to us. It is understandable that a legitimate question arises here: Is that really how equal partners, sovereign states, should be treated? It seems that during the negotiations in Moscow its organizers were only concerned about everyone signing the memorandum as quickly as possible and used all possible means of influence to that end. So, anxious about the fact that one can be left without food credits as a result of not signing the memorandum—and these credits are vitally important for a number of former Union republics where food resources are either insufficient of almost exhausted—eight former Union republics signed it. By the way, the fact that it really was a forced step was recognized the day before yesterday in Kiev by Khayeyev, prime minister of the Republic of Tajikistan, who was here on an official visit.

Well, and what does Ukraine have to do now? Its prime minister Vitold Fokin said at the briefing to journalists:

[Fokin] Understanding the great responsibility for paying off the external debt, Ukraine insists on an immediate apportionment of all assets and reserves of the USSR according to principles agreed on by all states, subjects of the former USSR. In order to settle this issue it is necessary for all USSR state agencies to provide exhaustive information regarding all debts, reserves, and assets of the USSR to sovereign states, and also information about their creditors. Because, you have to agree, there can be no debts without creditors, as the saying goes, money needs to be accounted for. Ukraine addresses the world community with a request to take into account the fact that granting the sovereign states such exhaustive information about the USSR's property and also about other assets abroad will serve as a guarantee for meeting their debt repayments.

[Bak] Vitold Pavlovych Fokin stressed at this point that this was an official statement.

Remarks on Debt Package

OW2311191791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1723 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As a successor to the disintegrated Soviet Union, the Ukraine acknowledges part of the USSR's foreign debt, said Ukrainian Premier Vitold Fokin on Saturday

[23 November] at a briefing in Kiev. That is why, he said, together with other republics the Ukraine signed on October 28 a memorandum on solidary responsibility for repaying the debt with deputy finance ministers from the seven leading Western countries.

According to V. Fokin, the document states that solidary responsibility requires exhaustive information on the Soviet Union's assets and debts as well as their division between sovereign republics that are successors to the USSR's debt. However this failed to be done, said the Ukrainian premier. "Now the Ukraine is actually invited to play blindfold, to sign a promissory note for an unknown sum, and even guarantee the repayment of new credits it has not received," said V. Fokin. The Ukraine cannot agree to such proposals.

V. Fokin described some provisions in the package suggested by the G-7 as unacceptable. According to him, the full text of the document remained a secret, and they were not even allowed to hold it in their hands. "Judging by what we were told, the Ukraine will be an adjunct to Russia, if not to the USSR," declared the head of the Ukrainian government. "We cannot agree to this."

V. Fokin also considers as unacceptable the principle of maintaining free interrepublican trade which signifies that his republic will have to give up the protection of its domestic market, its national monetary unit and the licensing of some products.

V. Fokin qualified the proposals in question as "gross interference in the internal affairs of the Ukraine. "The leadership of the former Soviet Union is engaged in backstage negotiations with the West which cause considerable damage to the former Soviet republics," said the Ukrainian premier.

Under the circumstances, said V. Fokin, "we reserve the right stated in Article 32 of the Treaty on Economic Community, and we will enter into talks with foreign partners on repaying part of the debt on our own."

More on Response to G-7 Proposals

LD2411134691 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2115 GMT 23 Nov 91

["Politics"—POSTFACTUM subhead]

[Excerpts] [no dateline as received]—A package of G-7 proposals is inacceptable for the Ukraine, says Ukrainian PM [prime minister]. On November 23 Mr. Vitold Fokin, Ukrainian prime minister, have [as received] noted in his statement for the press that we have not yet received these proposals, so I cannot give you a full overview of those documents. [passage omitted]

We do not want crisis-fighting measures that are foisted upon us. We are able to adopt these measures by ourselves, said Mr. Fokin. We cannot accept the destruction of our credit and banking system. The principles of free inter-republican trade are unacceptable for us as well. This would have meant abandoning the system of rationing coupons and the internal currency system.

In view of the current situation Ukraine deemed it impossible to sign any documents concerning the repayment of the foreign debt. Ukraine reserves the right to use Chapter 32 of the Treaty on Economic Community and to subject its obligations to creditors to renegotiating. This step, according to Mr. Fokin, will be taken only if the Ukrainian Government does not receive the information on the Soviet Union's debtors as well as the creditors and the cost of the property of former Soviet ministries and departments.

Prime Minister Interviewed on Debt Repayment

LD2311204591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1540 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Interview with Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin by station correspondent Vladimir Sokolov in Kiev on 23 November—recorded; introductory paragraph read by announcer]

[Text] The Ukraine, as it is known, has not signed the memorandum of sovereign states of the former Soviet Union on guarantees for the repayment of the latter's foreign debts. Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin spoke today about this at a briefing held for Soviet and foreign journalists in Kiev. Our corespondent Vladimir Sokolov was present at the briefing. We are ready to listen to your report, colleague. Go ahead, please.

[Sokolov] The official statement which was announced at the briefing by Prime Minister Vitold Fokin underlines that the Ukraine, which is one of the legal successors of the former Soviet Union, is ready to service and repay its part of the Soviet foreign debt. At the same time it wants to know its exact proportion of the debt and who the money is to go to. The Ukraine also demands a precise assessment of its share in the assets of the former Union, in the debts of other foreign countries to the Union, in property and investments abroad, in gold and hard currency funds and reserves, and in other holdings. The memorandum, as it is said, cannot be signed without such conclusive information being produced.

It has also been stressed that the Ukraine does not agree with the proposals on stabilizing the economy, in particular with the principles of free trade between the republics, which deprives the Ukraine of the opportunity to protect its internal market. The distribution of votes in the Interstate Council attached to the Vnesheconombank cannot be accepted by the Ukriane. This would mean the inequality of states and would be in contravention of their independence.

In an interview which Vitold Fokin gave to All-Union Radio at my request after the briefing, he added:

[Fokin] The Ukraine has repeatedly underlined its intentions to fully service, on a joint and several liability basis, the debt of the Soviet Union. At the same time, I think that any person who is signing a promissory note should at least know the sum of money which he is signing for. I do not understand why the heads of the parliaments are hiding the true size of the debt from us, its structure, and to who the money is to go to. Is this really such a tremendous secret? If this is the case, then this means that we are being invited to play, as card players say, in the dark. This then becomes a game which is not suitable for respectable people. Even the size of the state debt does not have a clearly defined form. It was 42 billion rubles at the beginning of the year. Today it already amounts to 82 billion rubles. It is not known what caused this increase because the Ukraine has not used any credits during this period.

At the same time, other countries also have debt obligations to the Soviet Union. This sum has not been defined at all. So, this also has to be divided between the member-states of the economic community. We are again invited to play in the dark. It is necessary to divide up all the property—trade representations, embassies, and all sorts of other missions which are located abroad. Is this such an unfair thing to do? Well, I don't know. Does all this have to belong to one of the republics or to the center?

We would like to underline again that our creditors must have a complete 100 percent guarantee that the money they have invested in our economy will be repaid. That is why the Ukraine itself is fully supporting the idea of joint and several liability for servicing the debt, though it may work out that this is not advantageous to us.

[Sokolov] Well, generally speaking, your signature cannot be found under the memorandum so far.

[Fokin] My signature is not there, but it may be found there at any moment after we sit down at the table, agree on the mechanism for the division of the assets and liabilities of the Soviet Union, and allocate every individual republic its share of the debt. We can sign the memorandum the very moment that is done.

Presidential Candidate Comments on Economy

LD2411014191 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2200 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Volodymyr Hrynyov, one of the presidential candidates in Ukraine, at a meeting with voters stated that economic reforms in the Russian Federation and Ukraine should be introduced upon mutual agreement, so as not to harm the process of economic transformations taking place in the two republics. Volodymyr Hrynyov believes that it will be possible to stop the economic decline not earlier than in 18 months' time, and an increase of production will take place only in five years' time.

Crimean Supreme Soviet Session Opens 22 Nov

LD2411072191

[Editorial Report] Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian at 0600 GMT on 22 November carries a five-minute report on the opening of the Crimean Supreme Soviet session in Simferopol on 22 November.

The reason for convening the session is the pressure by the opposition and Deputy Meshkov who spent nine days on a hunger strike about holding the referendum on the status of Crimea. According to correspondent Anatoliy Polonskyy, Meshkov is supported by the Impex- 55, a rich Crimean association of entrepreneurs. Members of the autonomous republic's presidium gave their consent to convene the session thus succumbing to pressure also applied by Bagrov, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

Volodymyr Myfodiyovych Pylypchuk, member of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Commission for Issues of Economic Reforms and the National Economy Management, is interviewed by Polonskyy and gave reasons of the economic expediency and necessity for the Crimea to remain part of the Ukraine. Pylypchuk dismisses arguments that the Crimea will have an inflow of hard currency by exploiting the coastal area with leisure centers and health resorts. The level of service is far below Western standards and the Crimean Black Sea coastal area is very polluted, says Pylypchuk. He also points out that accounts between the Ukraine and the Crimea would be put on a different basis if the Crimea decided to secede from the Ukraine. One of the issues raised by Pylypchuk in this connection is the issue of water supplies and the Crimean canal. According to Pylypchuk, the Crimean Government will need to find $3 billion dollars to pay for maintaining and using the canal. A similar situation will arise with electricity supplies, notes Pylypchuk. However he expresses hope that the population of the Crimea will assess the situation correctly and vote for independence of the Ukraine with the Crimea being part of it.

Referendum Law Adopted

LD2211214691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 22 Nov 91

[From the "New Wave" program]

[Text] We have just received the following report from our correspondent. The Supreme Soviet of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic has by an overwhelming majority of votes adopted a law on a referendum in the Crimea. This law is the juridical basis for the adoption of a decision on very important problems of the Crimea. One of these urgent problems, in the opinion of many observers, is the fate of the Crimea—whether or not it should remain within an independent Ukraine, or on the contrary ask to return to Russia, as was the case until 1954.

Deputies have sent their appeal to the president and to the USSR Supreme Soviet on the revocation of the act of 1954 handing over the Crimea to the Ukraine.

Investigation Into Support for Coup Concludes

LD2411135391 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 24 Nov 91

[Text] The commission for investigation of the cases connected with the activities of the former so-called State Emergency Committee, which had emerged in the course of the August coup, has ended its work in Lvov region. The investigation lasted for over two months and proved that the leaders of the regional Communist Party organization had supported in every way possible the putschists. Deputy chairman of the Lvov regional Soviet of People's Deputies, (Mykola Hory), stated that the people have got convinced in the fact that the large staff of the regional Communist Party committee during a long time was engaged in openly antistate activities, and the slander the committee was producing, including on the top officials of Ukraine, all their contacts with the representatives of the military-industrial complex, can become a good illustration of what the so-called leading force of our society was preoccupied with, pointed out (Mykola Hory).

Internal Troops Form Republic Guard

PM2211163391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Colonel A. Polyakov report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Internal Troops Become Guard"]

[Text] Kiev, 19 Nov—Colonel V. Kukharets, commander of the Ukrainian Republic Guard, and his deputies have been presented to commanding officers of Internal Troops units and subunits. The guard is being formed on the basis of some Internal Troops units both from among soldiers doing compulsory service and others engaged on contract. V. Durdinets, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Defense and State Security Standing Commission, informed us that the guard will number about 10,000 men. Ukrainian citizens of any nationality can become guardsmen, provided they undergo compulsory tuition in the Ukrainian language on special courses. It is proposed that the guard will not only protect important facilities but will also patrol population centers and assist the militia to maintain public order.

Journalists were asked to stress that Ukraine is not creating additional military formations. The Internal Troops who become the republic guard will be subordinate to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

Trade Cooperation Treaty Signed With Tajikistan

LD2411051891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1856 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Sergey Bibik]

[Text] Kiev, 22 Nov (TASS)—A treaty on principles of trade and economic cooperation between the Governments of the Ukraine and the Republic of Tajikistan for 1992 was signed in Kiev today. It envisages that assistance be rendered and necessary conditions be created for enterprises and organizations to maintain and expand direct trade and economic ties, to develop production cooperation. The sides have undertaken an obligation to exercise control over deliveries of major types of production.

Democratic Party Pickets Radio, TV Building

LD2411135591 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 24 Nov 91

[Text] Today [23 November] the activists of the Party of Democratic Revival of Ukraine held a several-hour long picketing of the building of the republic's television and radio company. They consider that the company leadership infringes upon the rights of the candidates for Ukraine's presidency nominated by the democratic forces as far as their television appearances are concerned. The company's leadership did not agree with such accusations. The television and radio company of Ukraine strictly follows the positions of the law on elections and requirements of the Central Electoral Commission providing all candidates with equal opportunities.

Civil Forum Holds Founding Conference

LD2411114991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2145 GMT 23 Nov 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Summary] The founding conference of a new Ukrainian public movement took place in the Dnestr Republic today. Its name is to be the Civil Forum of the Ukraine [Grazhdanskiy Forum Ukrainy]. It supports the creation of a single economic space on the territory of the former USSR, a political union of the republics, and a federative structure in the Ukraine.

Donbass Transport Workers Hold Strike

LD2211141491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1000 GMT 21 Nov 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] In three large towns in the Donbass—Gorlovka, Yenakiyevo, and Dzerzhinsk—freight and passenger transport was not operating yesterday. The drivers announced a strike.

[Begin correspondent G. Kondaurov recording] The strike is astonishing by its mass nature and good organization. Approximately 10,000 drivers have left their vehicles and gathered at a rally. The reason for the labor conflict is the decision adopted by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet on increased responsibility for violations of road traffic rules. It contains the requirement that only roadworthy vehicles be permitted to operate. Large fines are envisaged for violations. It turns out that, if this is the case, every single driver would have to be fined. In the motor vehicle economy of Donetsk oblast there is hardly a single roadworthy vehicle, and 50 percent should be written off because they are completely worn out. Vehicle pools with spare parts have completely ceased. The drivers are forced to remain idle for days and weeks owing to the shortage of fuel.

The wages of the drivers are very low. They are demanding immediate indexation of income in keeping with the growth in prices. They are in last place regarding the extent to which they have been provided with apartments. The drivers have sent their demands to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine and are threatening an indefinite strike if the demands are not met. [video shows workers' rally and rows of idle buses]

Armenia

Leader Appoints New Prime Minister, Deputy

NC2311210191 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1930 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Text] Republic President Levon Ter-Petrosyan met reporters and the heads of mass media last night at the Armenian Supreme Soviet.

Referring to the situation that has emerged in the republic, the president noted that the situation has sharply changed following the air accident.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan noted that though the preliminary report indicated that what happened was an accident, nevertheless some circles, realizing that the incident could be used to whip up anti-Armenian sentiments, advanced a series of other assumptions.

The president informed them that the railway entering Armenia has once again been blockaded, and the Yerevan-Kapan train has been detained in Zangelan; there are women and children in the train.

Stating that the postponement in adopting the bill on the government is disrupting the full functioning of the republic's executive organs, the president said that he has signed three decrees with which the duties of the prime minister of Armenia are devolved on Vice President Gagik Arutyunyan, Grant Bagratyan is appointed deputy prime minister, and Ashot Manucharyan is appointed national security adviser to the republic's president.

After Levon Ter-Petrosyan's statement, Ashot Manucharyan met reporters and spoke about the situation that has emerged and answered their questions.

Vice President Gagik Arutyunyan also spoke during the meeting with the press.

Further on Appointments

LD2211212191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2011 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 22 Nov (TASS)—Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan announced the first appointments in his administration today. Gagik Arutyunyan, republican vice president, takes on the responsibilities of chairman of the Council of Ministers. He has worked as deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet since August 1990. He became vice president on the recommendation of the leader of Armenia in October. G. Arutyunyan, 43, is a candidate of economic sciences, lecturer, and author of several scientific works on economic problems.

Grant Bagratyan, 33, who has carried out the responsibilities of head of the republican government since October, has become the first deputy prime minister. Ashot Manucharyan, former member of the "Karabakh" committee and head of the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs of late, has been appointed chief adviser to the president of Armenia for national security.

Foreign Minister on Relations, NKAO

NC2411054991 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Text] A news conference was organized for Armenian and (?foreign) reporters at the Armenian Foreign Ministry. Armenian Foreign Minister Raffi Hovhannesyan (?discussed) the activities of the Armenian Foreign Ministry and [words indistinct].

The minister underlined that the recognition of Armenia's political independence by European and other states will take time, for every country approaches the decision on recognizing Armenia in terms of its former relations with the Soviet Union [words indistinct].

On the prospect of developing multifaceted relations with the Baltic republics, Raffi Hovhannesyan noted that Lithuania's recognition of Armenia's political independence could be considered the start of that process.

In reply to the foreign reporters' question on Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and the anti-Armenian hysteria being whipped up in Azerbaijan, the minister said that the Nagorno-Karabakh problem should not be regarded as an Azerbaijani internal affair, for what is at issue is protecting human rights. Armenia has no territorial designs on the neighboring country, and the international community and the United Nations are well aware that this problem should be tackled within the framework of people's inalienable right to self-determination.

The Armenian leadership's position remains unchanged: We favor solving the conflict through political means. If Azerbaijan opts for confrontation in the future, however, Armenia will reserve the right to take the necessary counter actions.

Statement Issued Over NKAO Helicopter Crash

NC2211181791 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1600 GMT 22 Nov 91

["Statement Issued by the Armenian Republic Government"; place and date of issue not given]

[Text] The 20 November disaster in the Martuninskiy Rayon of Nagorno-Karabakh in the Azerbaijan Republic involving the MI-8 military helicopter carrying Azerbaijani, Russian, and Kazakh political and government functionaries has sharply exacerbated the already complex situation in the region.

Despite the fact that the official investigation into the causes and circumstances of this incident has just commenced, certain mass media, including the central ones, and specific political circles have resorted to tendentious assessments of the tragedy in attempts to exploit the victims and heighten tensions between Armenia and Azerbaijan. As a result, efforts to resume the gas supply to Armenia through the main pipeline which passes through Azerbaijan has been terminated in violation of the agreement reached, and movement into the republic of trains loaded with freight for the national economy has been halted.

The (?drivers) and passengers—including women and children—of Kapan-Yerevan train were taken hostage on 21 November while crossing Azerbaijani territory.

The anti-Armenian campaign unleashed by those who favor using force to solve the conflict is assuming substantial dimensions and harshness. This could spur irreversible developments in the region because similar sentiments are also (?nurtured) in Armenia and appeals are being made to the government to resort to (?similar) countermeasures.

Such a development of events is incompatible with the interests of the peoples and governments of the two republics, and [words indistinct] on the process of negotiations commenced lately, and the entire course of positive changes in the relations of the two republics.

Expressing deep concern over the possible exacerbation of the conflict;

Considering as unacceptable the exploitation of public opinion through the dissemination of unconfirmed allegations, and the exacerbation of tensions by uncivilized methods;

The Armenian Republic proposes and insists that an international commission be set up to objectively investigate the disaster.

It is also proposed that during the investigation details be released through a joint information group set up in line with the Zheleznovodsk communique.

To avoid [words indistinct], the Armenian Republic calls on the Azerbaijani Republic to cease and desist all actions that might further destabilize the situation, including the blockade of railways and other communications.

Adviser Urges International Inquiry

LD2411001791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Nov 91

["TV Inform" report from Yerevan by V. Nazaryan, including recorded remarks by A. Manchuryan, chief adviser of the Armenian Republic]

[Text] [Video shows old woman chopping wood, passers by, interview with Manchuryan] [Nazaryan] We witnessed this scene, which is so typical of the country life, in the very center of Yerevan. Yes, one has to chop wood to heat flats with central heating. This is how we live in conditions of a deep power crisis, and a strict blockade. There is still no gas, industry is at a standstill, there is no rail traffic, and planes do not fly. But it is not this that worries the residents of Armenia the most, but a new wave of anti-Armenian feeling that has stirred up the neighboring republic after the tragic crash of the MI-8 helicopter. It seems as if it has already been proved that the military machine was shot down and that it was Armenian guerrillas who did it.

[Manachuryan] A train has been detained and its passengers have been taken hostage, including women and children. Railway communications have been cut off. Power supplies to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] have been completely cut off. The special purpose militia detachments are concentrating their enormous forces in the outskirts of Stepanakert and along the entire perimeter of the NKAO. Practically all settlements situated along the NKAO border are coming under artillery fire. We think that such developments are impermissible. The only one way to go is the way which was proposed in a statement by the Armenian Government—that is, to set up an international commission to investigate this incident.

Commentary Voices Doubts Over Crash

NC2211212891 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1600 GMT 22 Nov 91

["Was the Helicopter Explosion a Coincidence?"]

[Text] A three-day mourning period has been declared in Azerbaijan in connection with the death of a number of high level officials in the crash over Nagorno-Karabakh on 20 November. Their funerals took place today in Baku. In his 21 November televised address, President Ayaz Mutalibov [words indistinct] allegedly the Armenian side has unleashed an undeclared war against Azerbaijan. Of course, such a stance on the part of the president will influence the government commission's conclusion on the causes of the explosion.

Without a doubt, Azerbaijan will resort to any means to (?concoct) proof of direct involvement by so-called Armenian terrorists.

The aim of these [word indistinct] is obvious: First, to mitigate the justified wave of indignation by progressives in the country and abroad against the closure of the gas pipeline to Armenia, justifying the continued implementation of this hostile action. Second, to harm relations between the military and the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh and undermine Armenia's relations with Russia and Kazakhstan.

The neutral position adopted by the military commandant of the state of emergency region, and by the mediating observers group is not [word indistinct] to the Azerbaijani leadership.

For this reason, the air disaster has assumed a clearly expressed political nature. These unfolding events confirm that the helicopter's destruction will be exploited by our neighbors to further exacerbate interethnic strife in the region. Therefore, Ayaz Mutalibov considers it essential to convene an extraordinary session of his republic's Supreme Soviet. It is clear to Armenians what they will talk about.

According to reports from unofficial sources, soon after the air disaster, the notorious Viktor Polyanichko was seen in Agdam.

On the morning of 22 November Askeran came under rocket and cannon fire. One resident was killed and four houses were destroyed. According to eyewitness accounts, the shells fired on Khanabad, Akhbulakh, and Khramort fell short of the villages. The shelling from the direction of Agdam continued for a few hours.

Azerbaijani television, by airing the mourning speeches, including speeches by the clerics, is intentionally fomenting anti-Armenian hysteria.

The situation in the region might exacerbate to a dangerous point after the mourning period ends.

Azerbaijan

Official Opposes Further Talks With Armenia

LD2411084391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1512 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Text] Baku, 23 Nov (AZERINFORM-TASS)—Ziyad Samed-Zade, first deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet who heads the plenipotentiary republican delegation at the Kazakh talks, has spoken out against continuing talks with the Republic of Armenia under the current circumstances. His statement was published today in reply to an announcement by the Armenian delegation on 21 November about the impossibility of continuing talks in view of gas supplies to the republic being halted.

The leader of the Azerbaijan delegation repeated the allegation disputed by the Armenian side that the helicopter that crashed over the territory of Martuninskiy Rayon in Nagorno-Karabakh was shot down and placed all the responsibility for the deaths of those on board on the authorities of the Armenian republic.

Samed-Zade stated that resuming talks is possible only if Armenia withdraws its territorial claims on Nagorno-Karabakh and stops hostile actions against Azerbaijan.

Further on NKAO Helicopter Crash, Situation

Preliminary Report Notes Shooting

LD2211172191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] News has been received that an investigation group from the Azerbaijan Procuracy has been handed material on the preliminary conclusions of the state investigation commission [of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast helicopter crash]. It has been established that the combat craft was shot down and blew up after it fell. The investigation group handed the black box from the helicopter over to the Azerbaijan Procuracy.

The Republic of Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet has decided to convene an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet on 26 November 1991. Among the issues to be discussed are the declaration of martial law in the Republic of Azerbaijan, the status of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, halting talks with the Armenian Republic, and the breaking off of all economic links with Armenia.

NKAO Urges Independent Probe

OW2211153691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1426 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpt] The Executive Committee of Nagorno-Karabakh urged the Russian and Kazakh presidents and the USSR defense minister Friday [22 November] to appoint independent experts to investigate last Wednesday's [20 November] helicopter crash in the Martunin district of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The committee appeal says Azerbaijani investigators barred a group of Karabakhi law-enforcement officers from the scene of the crash on November 21, thereby giving reasons for questioning the fairness of the investigation.

The authors say Azerbaijani authorities have been trying to present the catastrophe as "an Armenian conspiracy" and to whip up hysteria around the matter. As a result, several dozen Alazan missiles and artillery shells were fired early on the Friday morning from Azerbaijan's Agdam district in the direction of the district center of Askeran and other Armenian-populated places in Karabakh. One Armenian died and many homes were damaged. [passage omitted]

Officer on 'Biased Coverage'

OW2211154991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1426 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lieutenant-Colonel Sergey Potapov, spokesman for the USSR Interior Minister force commander in Nagorno-Karabakh, has told IF [INTERFAX] that the true reasons for the helicopter catastrophe can only be established through comprehensive analysis of all the facts and circumstances and through deciphering the "black box" data.

This view is shared by Col. Alexey Polozov, deputy commandant of the state-of-emergency zone in Nagorno-Karabakh, who told IF that Baku correspondents had provided biased coverage of the crash and distorted the truth by denying that the helicopter had been enveloped by thick fog shortly before the tragedy. Col. Polozov, who was in Agdam (the machine's takeoff point), insists that the skies were foggy at the time.

According to him, the bullet holes in the helicopter's casing cannot prove the fact that the vehicle was downed, since Soviet military helicopters had repeatedly come under fire before, including from Azerbaijani OMON [special purpose militia detachment] commandos.

The Azerbaijani preliminary version is that the helicopter was shot down, and the Armenian is that it crashed because of poor visibility.

President, Armenian Minister Interviewed

LD2311230691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 22 Nov 91

["Vesti" report on interviews with Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov and Armenian Interior Minister A. Manucharyan by correspondent Nakhysh; place and date not given]

The recent tragedy, the helicopter catastrophe and loss of life, has aggravated the conflict around the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. Experts do not reject the possibility that the helicopter was shot down, but warn against hasty conclusions; at least, the proceedings have been instigated on the basis of article 248: Violations of Flight Rules. It is not only the pilot's good name that depends on the results of the investigation, but also relations in the Karabakh knot, which are approaching a critical point again. As always in such cases, "Vesti" abstains from assessments and gives the floor to both sides.

[Begin recording] [Nakhysh] Baku said its last farewells to the sons of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Russia who were tragically killed in the NKAO on 20 November. As has been already reported, the helicopter was shot at by terrorists near the Armenian village of Karakent. This terrorist act has become the last straw which exhausted the patience of the people and leadership of Azerbaijan.

[Mutalibov] On the whole, we are in a decisive mood. I think all the necessary measures will be taken on our side because things have gone too far. There is bloodshed every day, and if the appropriate Union organs do not understand this then the people have to take matters into their own hands.

[Nakhysh] It has been announced in the republic that an emergency session of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet will be held on 26 November. Among others issues, the introduction of martial law in the republic, the cessation of talks and all economic ties with Armenia, and the recall of Azerbaijani soldiers and officers from the USSR Armed Forces will be discussed.

[Manucharyan] Not waiting for any official examination of this catastrophe, the most varied insinuations are being made and used to aggravate the situation. As of today the position of the Armenian Government is this: We should wait for the work of this commission and create an international commission. I think that only after this commission has carried out its investigations can we say really happened. Moreover, the first information provided by the Azerbaijani side spoke of a straightforward accident; later another version appeared— that there was a shooting. None of this is clear to us; that is, only the work of the commission and only restraint can now give us what we all need; namely, the avoidance of an escalation of violence in our region. [end recording]

'Tension' Rises After Crash

LD2311232691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1055 GMT GMT 23 Nov 91

[By correspondents Vadim Byrkin in Stepanakert and Tigran Liloyan in Yerevan]

[Text] Stepanakert, 23 Nov (TASS)—Tension is mounting again in Nagorno-Karabakh. This time the upsurge of tension is largely connected with the crash of a helicopter and with press statements commenting on the tragedy.

Lieutenant Colonel of Justice Igor Lazutkin, the military procurator of Stepanakert garrison, who is in charge of the investigation, replied as follows when asked by a TASS correspondent whether the helicopter was indeed shot down, as some of the media have suggested:

That version, along with many others, has a right to exist and is being checked by the investigation. Another possibility is that the helicopter may have crashed after colliding with a mountain in fog. A commission of aviation specialists from Moscow is investigating and will submit its technical opinion. Only then will it be possible to draw any conclusions, the military procurator told TASS.

Yerevan, 23 Nov (TASS)— Some of the media which lack a proper appreciation of the complex situation surrounding the helicopter crash in Nagorno-Karabakh are putting out inadvertently incorrect information and thereby pouring oil on the flames of the interethnic conflict in the region, according to a statement circulated here by USSR people's deputies representing Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. They feel that a television report from the spot was tendentious. The ordinary viewer at home and abroad might be led to think that the helicopter did not crash because of bad weather, but was shot down. As for the marks on the wreckage of the helicopter which were shown "to make the thing more convincing", several aircraft are now flying with bullet marks on them—recently the Azerbaijani special purpose militia detachments have often fired on both civilian and military helicopters.

The deputies expressed amazement that, in a region where an interethnic war is being waged, the investigation into the crash of a helicopter with representatives of three nationalities on board is being conducted by the Azerbaijani procurator's office. In their view, the inquiry ought to be carried out by a third party.

One can understand and justify the natural desire of the media to obtain the necessary information from the scene without delay, especially when lives have been lost. Yet the need remains to observe the principle not only of objectivity of the information itself, but also of unbiased and disinterested comment, the statement says.

USSR Deputy Warns Against 'Hysteria'

OW2311191191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1419 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] USSR People's Deputy Zoriy Balayan has warned against fanning anti-Armenian hysteria over the helicopter crash in the Martuni District, Nagorno-Karabakh, November 20.

In an interview with an INTERFAX correspondent he stressed that the report on the TV-Inform Programme November 21 called in question the objectivity of its authors. The report hinted the crash had been engineered by Armenian armed units. Z. Balayan resolutely refuted the intimation. He pointed out that the talk with the deputy commandant of the emergency situation area, Colonel Alexey Polozov, had made it clear that the visibility at the time of the helicopter's take-off from Agdam was only 25 metres, even less in the mountains.

Further on Escalating Violence in NKAO

Railway Communications Cut Off

LD2511105291 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] The Azerbaijani authorities cut off railway communications with Armenia. Earlier they stopped all gas supplies to this republic. Azerbaijan has also announced it intends to liquidate the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomy. The Armenian president, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, has described these actions a declaration of war against Armenia.

Radio Reports Attacks

NC2311214191 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 23 Nov 91

[By ARMENPRES correspondent Aleksandr Grigoryan: "The Confrontation Has Reached Its Zenith"]

[Excerpts] Azerbaijan has, in effect, launched combat operations against Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—NKAO]. For now, the opponent has (?confined) its operations to shelling Armenian settlements. In so doing the leadership of the neighboring republic is trying to instigate the defenders to resort to counter operations to justify its decision to submit a series of anti-Armenian resolutions to Azerbaijan's parliament.

Thus, Stepanakert was twice shelled by Alazan rockets from the direction of Shusha this morning. Three houses were damaged and a few persons were injured, two seriously. [passage omitted]

Regarding the air disaster that took place in Martuninskiy Rayon, Lieutenant Colonel (Igor Lazeskin), the NKAO's military procurator, visited the site of the accident. He said the following: The causes of the disaster are being investigated. I have instituted criminal proceedings. One possibility under consideration is that the helicopter was fired on. It cannot be ruled out that the helicopter hit the mountain because of heavy fog. A commission from the aviation department in Moscow is currently working at the site of the disaster.

Yet, Azerbaijani television in one of its morning broadcasts showed burned bodies and aired a commentary implying that this has been done by Armenians. The open calls often uttered by the Muslim clerics to defend Turkish land and for a war against Armenia and Artsakh are (?contributing) to the anti-Armenian (?hysteria) being whipped up on the airwaves and infused with a religious tinge [words indistinct].

Stepanakert Attacked With Rockets

LD2311233291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1607 GMT 23 Nov 91

[By correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert, 23 Nov (TASS)— The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast has worsened again. Stepanakert was subjected to a rocket bombardment from the direction of mountains in the Shushinskiy Rayon last night. According to the city commandant's office three people were injured, two of them seriously. Four houses were seriously damaged.

Alazan rockets were launched from Stepanakert in the direction of Shusha this morning. According to the Shusha commandant's office, one person was injured and seven houses were damaged.

Four Injured in Shelling

LD2411125891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1117 GMT 24 Nov 91

[By correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert, 24 Nov (TASS)—The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh has been complex overnight. According to information from the commandant's office of the rayon, where a state of emergency is in force, four people were injured as a result of fire from "Alazan" missiles.

Mobile groups [manevrennye gruppy] of USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs forces managed three times to silence weapon emplacements near Shusha that were firing on Stepanakert. The water intake pipe has been blown up for the 25th time and one-third of the population has been left without water. Today, flour stores have run out.

On the Azerbaijani side, groups of soldiers have been fired on seven times. An officer has been injured. In several places, the mobile groups of internal forces could not get out to put a stop to firing because of a lack of fuel.

The commandant's office is taking all possible measures to prevent further armed conflicts.

The Nagorno-Karabakh executive committee today made a statement saying that, as in the past, it is in favor of a peaceful, political settlement of the conflict, acknowledging that the pressure exerted by force and armed opposition offers few prospects for success. "Such a path does not tally with the interests of both peoples, who have already suffered many human casualties," says the Nagorno-Karabakh executive committee statement.

Attacks Kill Two

NC2311163091 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Text] The Operational Headquarters affiliated with the Armenian Council of Ministers has informed our correspondent that at 0130 on 23 November unidentified persons in military uniform killed two city residents, Lavrenti and Artur Akobyan, near [name indistinct] building in Stepanakert. Two other Armenian citizens were injured. The attackers escaped.

On the same night Nuragyukh village in Askeranskiy Rayon was fired upon by various weapons from the direction of Khodzhaly. One woman was injured.

Karintak village in the same rayon came under fire from the direction of Shusha. One house was destroyed and another caught fire. There were no victims.

In the morning of 23 November Stepanakert came under Alazan rocket fire from the direction of Shusha. A residential building was damaged. City residents Loris and Seyran Grigoryan were seriously injured. Amaya Petrosyan sustained slight injuries.

The shelling of Stepanakert by Alazan rockets resumed at 0730, again from the direction of Shusha. They fell mostly in the Armenian district of the city. Damage was reported, but there is no information on casualties.

Power Cut to Stepanakert

NC2211164491 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] Yerevan, 22 Nov (ARMENPRES)—Soon after AZERINFORM reported on the helicopter crash which took place in Martuninskiy Rayon on 20 November, the power line to Stepanakert was cut off at the Agdam substation.

YERKIR reports that clashes have resumed between Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Azerbaijanis fired at the southern outskirts of Stepanakert from a position near Shusha. The Armenians silenced the enemy with two missiles.

Representatives from the military commandant, the Procuracy, and the Committee for State Security have arrived at the site of the accident and have started investigations. Moscow has decided to set up a government commission.

President Levon Ter-Petrosyan has sent a condolence message to the Azerbaijani leadership.

YERKIR also reports that on the night of 20 November the Azerbaijani OMON [special purpose militia detachment] left the Armenian village of Karaglukh, which they had occupied since last May. Before leaving, however, they set fire to the village. Almost all the buildings in the village were damaged.

YERKIR also reports that on the afternoon of 20 November, five Azerbaijanis were taken hostage on the Khodzhaly-Shusha highway. It is believed that they will be exchanged for the two Armenians under seige at the military commandant's office in Agdam. KARABAKH NEWS AGENCY reports that the Azerbaijanis have proposed to exchange these two for Shukur Rzayev, the Azerbaijani Procurator General's assistant taken hostage a few days ago.

The situation is very tense in Agdam near Nagorno-Karabakh. Thousands of Azerbaijanis have taken to the streets. According to reports an anti-Armenian rally has taken place.

Telephone, Telegraph Links Cut

LD2511120791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1000 GMT 25 Nov 91

["Television News Service" report]

[Text] There is no news from Nagorno-Karabakh on the situation in this autonomous oblast. This is connected with the fact that telephone and telegraphic links have been severed since yesterday. According to reports from various sources, the oblast is virtually sealed off by Azerbaijani armed formations. It is known only that Stepanakert has been subjected to continuous shelling from Azerbaijani villages during the last 24 hours.

'Armed Fighters' Attack Airport

LD2211153291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 22 Nov 91

["Television News Service" report]

[Text] According to a report from Azerbaijan, in the last 24 hours approximately 30 Armenian armed fighters attacked the airport in the town of Khodzhaly. After a battle lasting many hours, they were repulsed by a militia detachment. The roads are blocked with slabs of concrete and stones.

In Agdam Rayon, as a result of the exchanges of fire during the night, three people have died.

'Hysteria' Continues Unabated

LD2411073691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 23 Nov 91

[By correspondent Armen Dulyan in Yerevan]

[Text] According to alarming reports received in Armenia, the whipping-up of anti-Armenian hysteria continues unabated in Azerbaijan. Big meetings are being held at which overt calls for reprisals against Armenians are heard. A bellicose agenda has been announced for the forthcoming parliamentary session. An intensive concentration of armed formations is taking place inside and around Nagorno-Karabakh. Railway lines have been completely blocked. All talk of reopening the gas pipeline, which was first closed at the beginning of November, has ceased now.

As you know, the reason for this escalation of tension was the crash of a military helicopter which occurred on 20 November in Nagorno-Karabakh. That evening, long after news of the crash had been reported, Armenian representatives spoke to Ayaz Mutalibov about the reopening of the gas pipeline. The president of Azerbaijan promised to do his utmost to ensure that the gas pipeline was reopened the following morning. He did not say a word about Armenian guerrillas being implicated in the crash.

On 22 November the People's Liberation Army of Karabakh issued a statement in which it strongly rejected fabrications about its involvement in the destruction of the military helicopter. The army's fighters, the statement says, do not consider themselves to be enemies of the entire Azerbaijani people. It is not their aim to destroy the Azerbaijani community in Nagorno-Karabakh. Neither do they regard USSR Interior Ministry troops as their adversaries. The sole objective of the People's Liberation Army is to resist forces which are seeking the deportation of Karabakh's Armenian population.

So, both Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh have a stake in an objective investigation of the crash. Yerevan is insisting on the formation of an authoritative and independent international commission. That is what the Armenian Government statement says. Similar demands are made in an appeal by the Executive Committee of Nagorno-Karabakh to the country's leadership.

In conclusion, let me quote the statement that was circulated on Friday. In order to prevent an escalation of the confrontation, the Armenian Government calls on the Azerbaijani leadership to refrain from all actions which jeopardize further stabilization of the situation. Let's hope that this call will, after all, be heeded in Azerbaijan.

USSR Deputy on Situation

LD2311235591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Nov 91

["TV Inform" interview with Galina Starovoytova, USSR and Russian Federation people's deputy, by Pavel Kasparov; live or recorded]

[Text] [Kasparov] Well, we've been gathering information, and I know you, too, have been doing so this evening. What information have you got that can supplement our television news?

[Starovoytova] Yes, for several days. Unfortunately today freedom of speech is not infrequently interpreted in our country as freedom from responsibility. I must reproach even my colleagues, who have lately been giving me a lot of attention—the television people—because not everything has been broadcast after proper checking. I am relying on information from senior officials of the Defense Ministry, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and KGB and on telephone conversations with the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] itself; and I emphasize that my information comes from persons of various nationalities.

On the day of the disaster, the helicopter took off from Stepanakert at 1330. The flight time to Martuni, the rayon center, is only 10 minutes, but Martuni airport did not accept the helicopter and it was discovered only several hours later. What route it took during the following two hours is not known. It is officially stated that it was over the territory of the NKAO for just two seconds. How then did the people die? In the uninhabited region in question there have been, as far as is known, no cases—at least in the past few months—of the Armenian side firing on any aircraft. Four times there has been firing on the part of the Azerbaijan special purpose militia detachments. The helicopter crashed on the slope of a gully. According to one account, one of its blades caught on a tree or a rock protruding from the mountain and the helicopter then crashed with those on board. We mourn all those who died. The Armenian side mourns, too, and has conveyed its condolences on the Azerbaijanis, Russians, and Kazakhs who were in the helicopter. The black box is to be taken to Moscow. So far it has not been delivered either to General Ponomarev or to General Trubin, who are conducting the investigation for the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

I should like to say something at once about the stance of the official leadership of Armenia. Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan has called for an objective international inquiry into the incident, with the involvement of the central procuracy bodies and possibly of the Kazakh and Russian procuracies. He says there must certainly be an international expert opinion. Regardless of the outcome of the investigation—whatever the results—we must have an objective picture.

[Kasparov] Well, good, these are all facts, but probably we should also speak of the conclusions which can be drawn from the situation.

[Starovoytova] To the facts I would add that today a railway blockade has been added to the gas blockade, and the last lifeline, the last thread connecting Armenia to the outside world has also been cut. We have heard, too, that an international Tehran-Moscow train has been detained and the conflict is now going beyond the frontiers of the former Union. The conclusion is this: Journalists must understand freedom of speech as responsibility, not as freedom from responsibility. Freedom is awareness of necessity. Every word could lead tomorrow to bloodshed. That's the first thing. Second, all three Transcaucasian republics today declared their sovereignty. They have come to it by different routes—by referendum or other means—but the center has yet to respond. The independence of the three republics of the Transcaucasu has not yet been recognized. That being so, what is the competence of the center—of the USSR president, the Defense Ministry, the Internal Affairs Ministry of the USSR? Are we going to take the Yugoslav path, the path of bitterness and bloodshed, or shall we permit some sort of international security force to become involved? That is how I would today describe our [changes thought]—both the Defense Ministry and the Ministry of Internal Affairs— let us solve this problem.

[Kasparov] Well, first, the Union treaty is expected to be signed on Monday; we'll be following those reports. But still, taking up in a way what you've been saying, I telephoned the commandant's office in Stepanakert today and one of the people there—official people—declined to be interviewed on television.

[Starovoytova] The commandant's office did give me an interview, but I'm not yet at liberty to disclose all the information. I take responsibility, however, for the facts I have just given and for those who gave me the information.

Situation 'Acute'; Rally Held

LD2411210991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 24 Nov 91

["TV Inform" studio interview with Rafael Guseynov, people's deputy of Azerbaijan and member of USSR Supreme Soviet, by correspondent S. Medvedev]

[Text] [Medvedev] A rally several thousand strong, called by the people's front of Azerbaijan, took place in Baku today. All of those who went out onto the square accused the government of indecisiveness and demanded the creation of self-defense forces as soon as possible. We have in the studio Rafael Guseynov, people's deputy of Azerbaijan and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Rafael, what do you think, will things go as far as civil war?

[Guseynov] In my view, there has been civil war in this region for a long time now—with the seizure of hostages, people's deaths and now, as you can see, a helicopter brought down. The situation in Azerbaijan has become acute in the extreme. People are indignant both about the destruction of the helicopter and the deaths.

[Medvedev] What do you think, the helicopter accident—and incidentally it has not yet been proven whether it was brought down or not, we do not have the official statement—this accident, could it be a catalyst in the process of civil strife?

[Guseynov] People are talking about other events. About three acts of sabotage on a Baku-Moscow train, about two explosions of passenger buses on the territory of Azerbaijan, as a result of which 40 people died. And, you know, investigations by the Union investigatory bodies were not fully completed on either of these events.

[Medvedev] And what is your attitude toward the proposal to introduce UN forces into the republic, as was heard yesterday, by the way?

[Guseynov] Yes, Galina Starovoytova, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's state advisor, mentioned this in a speech yesterday. I would like to say that we are not indifferent toward the position of the Russian Government on this issue and I would like to know whose position Galina Starovoytova's speech reflects—that of the Russian leadership or her own. In any case, I should like to say that the internationalization of the conflict will not lead to anything good. And Azerbaijan, as an independent state, is naturally against decisions of this kind being taken against its will and without its participation.

[Medvedev] Do you have any information at your disposal about when Armenia will start to receive gas?

[Guseynov] I spoke about the blockade with Ayaz Mutalibov, president of Azerbaijan, literally a few hours ago. He confirmed the republic's fundamental position. The republic is against any form of blockade. However, the functioning of any economic mechanism cannot be guaranteed under conditions when terrorist actions of this kind are being carried out. And we, incidentally, are in favor of the disarmament and dissolution of all illegal armed formations in this region, irrespective of nationality.

[Medvedev] Thank you for the interview. I remind you that Rafael Guseynov, people's deputy of Azerbaijan and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, was speaking to you.

State Adviser Comments

LD2411000491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Nov 91

["TV Inform" report by correspondent M. Mamedov, including recorded remarks by S. Gadzhiyev, state adviser of the Azerbaijan Republic]

[Text] [Mamedov] Shooting went on without a break in practically all regions of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] throughout last night. Towns and villages are still coming under missile attack. The town of Khodzhaly is completely besieged. The road has been blockaded by concrete slabs. Dozens of houses have been demolished. There are injured among civilians.

[Gadzhiyev] Practically every settlement in the oblast has turned into a combat operation zone. This has happened despite the fact that the emergency situation is still in force here. As for internal troops, they do not interfere in the conflict and do almost nothing to protect civilians. Naturally people wonder what the purpose of their being here is.

Supreme Soviet To Discuss Events

LD2511110891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0712 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By correspondent Islam Kuliyev]

[Text] Mayak listeners know about the latest events here. Assessments of these events vary wildly. Some of them have aroused a storm of indignation here in Azerbaijan. They have been made by people who take a fairly one-sided view of events. Others have tried, for understandable reasons, to play down the seriousness and significance of what has happened. They say they want to prevent a further escalation of the situation in the region.

Be that as it may, it is already clear that there are no grounds for saying that the MI-8 helicopter crashed into a hillside by accident in fog. This has already been proved beyond doubt by experts. Television viewers, including those who watch the news programs of Central Television, had an opportunity to see the terrible pictures taken on the spot where the helicopter passengers lost their lives. No doubt they also saw the bullet holes in the remains of the military helicopter. A state commission and the republic's procuracy are now investigating the accident. This commission includes representatives not just of Azerbaijan but also of the USSR State Aviation Safety Inspectorate and the country's deputy minister of internal affairs. I point this out in order to preempt talk of bias or prejudice on the part of the commission.

Against the background of these events, Armenian guerrillas continue to escalate their operations in Nagorno-Karabakh. Shelling of Azerbaijani villages continued both before the crash and after it. People are again being killed and wounded, and hostages are being taken. Therefore, it is blasphemous, to say the least, to claim that Azerbaijan wishes to exploit the deaths of a large group of its leaders in order to whip up anti-Armenian sentiment. That is my view.

Tomorrow's extraordinary session of the republic's Supreme Soviet seems a logical response to all this. It will discuss the situation in the region and measures to protect the Azerbaijani population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. In view of the situation that has arisen, the Supreme Soviet is also planning to discuss such questions as a draft law on the state border of the Republic of Azerbaijan, a declaration of martial law in Azerbaijan, provisions for the republic's defense, the status of Azerbaijan's NKAO, the suspension of talks with the Republic of Armenia, and the cutting of all economic ties with Armenia. That is the anticipated agenda. Some changes or additions may be made. Obviously, the session will not be a simple one, but one thing is absolutely clear: It is time to end the fruitless debate and move on to specific action.

Clearly, the most heated debate is likely to revolve around the establishment of the republic's own armed forces. As has been repeatedly pointed out, the USSR Interior Ministry and Soviet Army troops deployed in the conflict zone adopted the stance of detached observers long ago. They are not intervening in the war that has been raging for a fourth year on the territory of Azerbaijan—on the territory of Azerbaijan, I stress.

The proposal made by certain politicians and the Armenian side for observers or even UN troops to be invited to help settle the conflict seems illogical, to say the least, against this background. After all, if one state wages combat operations on the territory of another, it is absolutely clear, in my view, as to who is the aggressor and who is defending his soil.

Officers Refuse To Go to NKAO

LD2311225691 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2218 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] [No dateline as received]—Officers of interior troops stationed in the Ukraine and Moldova refuse to leave for Nagorno-Karabakh. According to information received from sources close to the Ukraine and Moldova directorate of the USSR Interior Ministry's Interior Troops, Acting Commander of the Interior Troops, Chief of Staff Major General Nikolay Skripnik said at a meeting on November 22 that, in accordance with an order of the Chief Directorate of the USSR Interior Troops, a big group of officers of the Directorate is shortly to leave for Nagorno-Karabakh to fulfill tasks related to the protection of public order. This statement gave rise to unconcealed negative emotions on the part of the participants of the meeting. Citing a Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's resolution assuming control over the Republican Interior Troops, officers are expressing resolve to oppose provocative orders coming from Moscow. Deputies to the Ukrainian legislature were immediately informed of this. Colonel Vladimir Kukharets, recently appointed commander of the Ukrainian

National Guard, on learning of Major General Skripnik's statement, declared that he was not going to allow sending officers of the Ukrainian Interior Troops wherever. The Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet and the Republican Interior Ministry are supposed to make official statements in this respect soon.

Soviet Military Posts Set Up

NC2311215491 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1930 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Text] The regular replacement of Soviet Internal Troop units stationed in Gadrutskiy Rayon with new subunits has started. The detachments stationed in Armenian villages are being kept in place, but in line with the arrangement made by the rayon's military commandant, military posts have also been set up in Panadzor, Arakel, Arevshat, and other villages that have been settled by Azerbaijanis. With this move, military authorities have virtually assumed the protection of the Azerbaijanis who are illegally inhabiting those villages.

The Azerbaijanis abducted 57-year-old Ruben Gevorgyan and 61-year-old Grisha Grigoryan from Berdashen yesterday.

The day before, a car convoy accompanied by armored military vehicles left the Azerbaijani-inhabited village of Karadagly for Agdam Rayon. The convoy transported mostly women and children.

For the second day now Martuninskiy Rayon is without natural gas. The gas was cut off from Askeranskiy Rayon pumping station because of an accident.

Railroad Line to Armenia Blocked

OW2211184391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During the night of November 22nd on Azerbaijani territory a railroad line was blocked which goes to Armenia. The Armenian deputy chairman of the State Council on Economics, Arkadiy Ter-Israelyan, who is also a member of the Committee on the Operative Management of the Economy of the country, informed "INTERFAX" of this.

In his words, these tracks are the fundamental railroad for Armenia. 70-80 percent of all goods for the republic are brought in on that line.

Iranian Help Sought To Overcome Rail Blockade

LD2411151991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 24 Nov 91

[Text] Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic's Supreme Majlis, stated in an INTERFAX interview that he does not yet want to make any hasty moves. He has been following developments in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, which has been exacerbated since the military helicopter disaster in Nagorno-Karabakh. Aliyev expressed the view that the sharpening of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict since the helicopter disaster is natural, because it involves people occupying very high posts in Azerbaijan.

According to Aliyev, this exacerbation of the conflict is also making itself felt in Nakhichevan, where for the fourth day the railway linking this autonomous republic with Baku has not been operating. The Azerbaijani authorities have blockaded the railway leading to Armenia, which also links Azerbaijan with Nakhichevan. Aliyev stated that there are 1,300 Nakhichevan inhabitants aboard a train bound for Nakhichevan, which, because of the rail blockade, is at a standstill in Azerbaijan on the border with Armenia.

Aliyev said that on Saturday [23 November] he asked Iranian authorities to allow the train through that country's territory. According to the leader of Nakhichevan, Iran is considering the matter.

Aircraft Crash in Nagorno-Karabakh Kills 20

LD2211223491 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 22 Nov 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Another disaster. The Russian Information Agency reports that a YAK-40 aircraft of the Azerbaijan airline crashed yesterday in the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh. According to preliminary information, 20 people were killed.

Security Service Denies Sending Officers

LD2411124891 Moscow TASS in English 1024 GMT 24 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—The Interrepublic Security Service (former KGB) denied that 400 intelligence officers had been sent to Azerbaijan, TASS was officially told on Saturday [23 November] at the press centre of the security service.

The Turkish "HURRIYET" newspaper claimed on November 17 that 400 KGB officers were allegedly sent to Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, "to destabilise the situation in the republic." The "HURRIYET" quoted Azerbaijani Popular Front representatives.

The Security Service stated such allegations instigate ethnic strife in the republic and discredit Azerbaijani move to independence.

Georgia

Cabinet Warns Against Claiming Army Property

OW2311164691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1419 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian Cabinet has warned the population of the republic and the Soviet Army servicemen deployed in its territory that pending talks with the USSR authorities on the arms and other military property in Georgia, "no one has a right to claim or lay hands on them."

The cabinet called on the commanders of the Army units and the officers' families "to keep calm in assured guarantees by the Georgian Government that their rights and social status are protected within their competence."

Decree Issued on Border Troops, Navy Property

PM2511093191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Colonel V. Kaushanskiy report under "Direct Line" rubric: "They Want to 'De-kulakize' Military Property"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 19 Nov—Georgian President Z. Gamsakhurdia has signed yet another decree connected with the status of Union military formations on the republic's territory. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported on the "privatization" of USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops and Soviet Army property, combat equipment, means of transport, military bases, and so forth. The present decree concerns the material basis of the USSR Border Troops and the USSR Navy.

The republic Cabinet of Ministers is to have talks with the relevant USSR organs of state power and administration about "acceptance and transfer." But while the politicians plan only to clarify relations on such delicate questions, Georgian parliamentarians are preparing to form an official commission actually to begin taking an inventory of military property.

By a subsequent decree, the president abolished the Georgian KGB. It is intended to convert it into a state national security department directly subordinate to the head of the executive.

Z. Gamsakhurdia also appealed to the population to organize a peaceful march toward the Tbilisi Sea to where the rebel guards are stationed and call on them to disarm. At the same time the president stressed that those who voluntarily lay down their arms would be guaranteed safety.

Republic To Exchange Consulates With Iran

LD2211213191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1721 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By correspondent Albert Kocherkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 22 Nov TASS—Georgia and Iran have adopted a decision to exchange consulates. An agreement on their opening in Tbilisi and Tehran was reached in the course of the visit to Georgia by a delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran that is taking place now.

President Meets Delegations From Turkey, Iran

OW2211195191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia met with delegations from Turkey and Iran on their arrival for official visits in Tbilisi on November 21st.

During the meeting with the Turkish delegation the question of providing $400 million credit to Georgia was discussed, and there was further talk of importing food through barter deals. The guests gave Gamsakhurdia a letter from Turkish President Turgut Ozal, in which he expressed his hope that contacts between the two countries would grow in the near future.

In the meeting with the Iranian delegation, questions of joint ventures were discussed, and a proposal was made for participation in large-scale construction projects in Georgia for a highway connecting East and West. The Iranians suggested opening an Iranian Consulate in Tbilisi and that the Georgians do the same in Tehran.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia emphasized during both meetings that future neighboring business relations with Georgia could only be conducted if its independence were acknowledged. The Turkish and Iranian delegations assured Gamsakhurdia that this issue would be raised shortly by the governments in both countries.

Further Reportage on South Ossetia Conflict

March Against Tskhinvali Ordered

LD2211175291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1459 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By Vladimir Kubanskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Nov (TASS)— According to reports from the TASS correspondent in Tbilisi, the situation in South Ossetia, which has become more acute in recent days, was the theme of a rally near Government House in Tbilisi. President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, who addressed the participants in the rally, called on volunteers with weapons in their hands to come to the defense of the Georgian population who live in that region.

"All Georgians capable of bearing arms should join the march against Tskhinvali, the storming is to start on the morning of 23 November!", today's SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA cites the Georgian leader as saying, noting that his words "are rarely at variance with his deeds." "According to the military intelligence of the group of internal forces of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, units of armed militants are concentrating around the town and, from all the signs, seem to be preparing to attack," the newspaper writes.

The report from the TASS correspondent in Vladikavkaz (the capital of North Ossetia) also indicates this. He has learned from reliable sources that forces of armed militants are being concentrated around Tskhinvali. They are in complete control of all the minor roads and in some places have cut the main Dzhava-Tskhinvali road along which humanitarian aid arrives from Vladikavkaz.

Reinforced subunits of the internal troops of the USSR Interior Ministry are unable to break through the food and transport blockade, because they do not have orders to enter into armed conflict. In besieged Tskhinvali there is a catastrophic shortage of food products, and there are disruptions to the supply of water, gas, and electricity. All surgical operations have been cancelled in the oblast hospital because of the shortage of medicines and blood supplies.

Tens of thousands of inhabitants of South Ossetia have already left their homes, fleeing to neighboring North Ossetia, which is part of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, to escape the terror. Hundreds of people have been killed or kidnapped by terrorists in the conflict, which has been going on for a year.

A state of emergency is in force in Tskhinvali and its environs. However, the pressure from the Georgian authorities is leading only to the radicalization of the demands of South Ossetia, which is now no longer seeking greater autonomy within Georgia but reunification with North Ossetia within Russia. This idea has not yet met with a response in the Russian parliament which, however, has demanded that its government introduce economic sanctions against Georgia. It is not yet known whether they will be introduced.

'Imminent' Attack Denied

AU2311155791 Paris AFP in English
1123 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Moscow, Nov 23 (AFP) — The Georgian Interior Ministry on Saturday [23 November] denied any imminent attack was planned on its rebellious region of South Ossetia, where Georgian forces have reportedly been massing around the main city.

The ministry's press spokesman, Valikho Gogolachvili, who was contacted by telephone in the Georgian capital Tbilisi, said Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia had "only" called on the national guard—which has been battling Ossetian nationalists for the last year—to tighten up its defense because the situation was "worsening" in South Ossetia. He quoted Gamsakhurdia, who has vowed to crush the drive to break away from Georgia, as warning that "our territorial integrity is threatened."

The daily SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA on Thursday [21 November] said Gamsakhurdia had called on "all Georgians who can carry a gun" to march on the South Ossetian capital of Tskhinvali on Saturday [23 November].

The following day the official TASS news agency quoted "reliable sources" in the region who said Georgian forces had massed around Tskhinvali and taken control of all roads, preventing the arrival of humanitarian aid to the region, which is already suffering serious food and supply shortages after a year of trouble. The TASS report had described the situation in South Ossetia as "tense and explosive." [passage omitted]

The Soviet Interior Ministry regional office in Tbilisi said the situation was calm in Tskhinvali overnight and no fighting had been reported. A spokesman said he was in contact with troops in Vladikavkaz, the North Ossetian capital, from where humanitarian aid was being sent to South Ossetia. [passage omitted]

Roads, Aid Blocked

LD2211183291 Moscow TASS in English
1414 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz November 22 TASS—Reliable sources around South Ossetia report Georgian fighters are blocking deliveries of aid supplies and are concentrating their forces around Tskhinvali and its neighbouring villages. As they have full control of all roads, they have succeeded in blocking the main Dzhava-Tskhinvali route, preventing humanitarian aid being carried in from Vladikavkaz.

Reinforced units of Soviet Interior Ministry troops are prevented from breaking the food and transport blockade by force, because they have not yet been authorised to engage in armed conflicts. Besieged Tskhinvali is desperately short of food. Water, gas and electricity are supplied to residential areas intermittantly. All surgical operations have been cancelled in the regional hospital because of a shortage of medication and donor blood.

Alarming reports are coming in from Ossetian villages of the Tskhinvali and Znaur regions. Over the past three days alone Georgian fighters took 28 Ossetians hostage, plundered and burned 17 houses and drove away some 100 head of cattle. Ossetians are also keeping 30 Georgians as hostages.

Thursday [21 November] was a comparatively calm day in South Ossetia. Shooting was reported only in the crisis areas, mainly the suburbs of Tskhinvali and the Znaur district. According to the press centre of the information committee of the autonomous region, on the whole the socio-political situation is tense and explosive.

The situation in the eastern part of North Ossetia, on the border with Chechen-Ingushetia is not calm either. This is connected with the meeting of Ingushs, which is going on in the city of Nazrani. They insist that the Prigorodniy district of North Ossetia and the right-bank part of Vladikavkaz should be returned to them in accordance with the Russian law on the rehabilitation. Participants in the meeting call not only for a peaceful march to villages of the Prigorodniy district, but also for an armed capture of their lands. To this end the Ingush national guard was created.

An unofficial North Ossetian delegation has visited the Chechen-Ingushetia capital, Grozny. It was led by Georgiy Kozayev, member of the Russian parliament and rector of the Gorskiy Agricultural Institute. The delegation was received by the newly elected Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev. He strongly opposed confrontation between the Ingush and Ossetians and suggested a conference of representatives of all Caucasian nations be held in the city of Kazbegi, Georgia, to discuss the situation in the region.

Addressing journalists in Vladikavkaz, Chairman of the North Ossetian Parliament Akhsarbek Galazov stressed again that the republican leaders had been doing and continued to do all they could for settling the conflict between the two nations by peaceful means.

Situation Nears 'Decisive Stage'

LD2311150491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1220 GMT 23 Nov 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 23 Nov (TASS)—The crisis-ridden and potentially explosive sociopolitical situation in South Ossetia is approaching the decisive stage, a TASS correspondent was told today by Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the South Ossetian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic].

The Georgian media are calling for a march on Tskhinvali and for punishment for the recalcitrant Ossetians. Threats are being voiced at rallies, and the extremists are even being supported by Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. The act of retribution is scheduled for 23 November. In fact, reliable sources have reported that detachments of fighters have already assembled near the town.

Last night the town was bombarded by antiaircraft missiles and 100-mm guns. Residential buildings were hit and the town's economic facilities were severely damaged. Fifteen people, including women and children, have been taken to the hospital with gunshot wounds.

The locations of the fighters' firing positions are the same as before: the Georgian villages of Nikozi, Tamarasheni, Eredvi, and Mevgrekisi, which are outside the area covered by the state of emergency. Ossetian self-defense detachments returned the fire. Battles are being fought in the inhabited localities of Znauri and Prisi.

According to information from the news center of the autonomous oblast's information committee and the chairman of the South Ossetian Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, Georgian fighters are continuing their punitive actions in villages in Tskhinvalskiy and Znaurskiy Rayons. In just 48 hours, 17 Ossetians have been taken hostage here and 24 buildings have been plundered and burned.

Over 260 Ossetians have already been killed, 112 people are missing, and over 500 have been seriously wounded in the confrontation between the Georgian and Ossetian sides in South Ossetia. Fighters have plundered and burned over 100 Ossetian villages.

The leadership of the North Ossetian SSR and the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast have asked the leadership of the country and the Russian Federation to immediately introduce a state of emergency throughout South Ossetia and to urgently evacuate children, women, and elderly men from the combat zones. People here have just heard that workers in Moscow have expressed their solidarity with the Ossetian people through a message to the workers of Georgia. In it they call on Georgian workers to display courage and to resist the criminal designs of the Georgian nationalists.

Troops Fire on Villages 23 Nov

LD2411155791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1519 GMT 24 Nov 91

[Text] Tbilisi, 24 Nov (TASS)—Two inhabitants of the Georgian village of Kvemo Nikosi, which was fired at from a military helicopter on Saturday [23 November], have been killed, the press service of the Georgian president reported today. According to the data of the service, subunits of the Internal Troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, together with Ossetian guerrillas, engaged in firing on three Georgian villages (one of them is on the territory of South Ossetia) for eight hours on 23 November. There are serious casualties, and buildings have been destroyed.

On the same day, the press service reported, a military truck driven by a serviceman from the Internal Troops, who was intoxicated, drove into the Georgian village of Pkhvnisi. The truck ran into a car parked on the road. Two Georgians in the car died on the spot.

Interior Ministry Reports on Conflict

LD2211214991 Moscow TASS in English 2001 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—The Georgian side is responsible for almost 50 armed criminal actions conducted over the past two months alone, in which nine civilians were killed and more than 20 wounded, and over 60 houses burnt down and ruined, says today's report of the main department of the Soviet Interior Ministry troops' commander.

Thirty four cases of hostage seizure were reported in the second ten-day period of November.

Tskhinvali and the Dzhavinskiy region are still in blockade. A big concentration of illegal armed groups has been revealed on the border between the Tskhinvalskiy and Znaurskiy regions.

The regional center is daily shelled by anti-hail installations of the "Alazan" type and modern artillery pieces, the report says. The regional center of Znaury and some neighbouring settlements have been devastated and robbed.

The main department of the interior troops commander cited some data to describe the situation in South Ossetia during the inter-ethnic conflict (from December 12, 1990 till November 19, 1991)

Shellings: of duty details and sites of interior troops dislocation—50 cases, of populated localities—142 cases,

Killed: staffers of law enforcement bodies - 17, including 4 interior troopers, Ossetians - 116, Georgians - 42, others -2,

Wounded: staffers of law enforcement bodies - 60, including 8 interior troopers, Ossetians - 395, Georgians - 63, others - 3,

Removed: arms - 503 pieces, explosives - 151 pieces,

Number of refugees: Ossetians - 57,926, Georgians - 17,000.

Central TV Crew, Correspondent Expelled

LD2411173391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1258 GMT 24 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 24 Nov (TASS)—Boris Baryshnikov, a reporter for Central Television, announced today that he and a film crew were expelled from Georgia on 22 November. The day before, he had arrived in Tbilisi to continue filming material on events in the republic. Earlier, in October, he had prepared a number of reports that were broadcast on Central Television news bulletins. On 13 November, his 30-minute program "Tbilisi: October 91" went out on the first channel.

Militia Lieutenant Colonel G. Gugushvili, who took the move to expel the reporter and film crew, said that the decision was made because the reaction in Tbilisi to his program was "extremely negative, and the authorities were not in a position to guarantee the Muscovites' safety".

According to Baryshnikov, this is the first time that a Soviet journalist has been expelled from Georgia.

Cabinet Approves News Agency Replacement

LD2311070991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1727 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 22 Nov (TASS)—The decision to set up a Georgian news agency [Gruzinskoye Informatsionnoye Agenstvo] to replace SAKINFORM, which was disbanded on Thursday [21 November] was made today by the republican Cabinet of Ministers. The new service has been set the task of providing timely and objective coverage of the positive changes in the life of the republic. The agency will actively and convincingly carry out counterpropaganda against internal and external disinformation about Georgia, its director Irakliy Kenchosvili told TASS.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Interviewed on Economic Outlook

LD2511093791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Nov 91

[From the "New Wave" program]

[Text] The second round of the pre-election trip around the republic by Nazarbayev, the Kazakhstan presidential candidate, is ending. He has previously spent some time in the western region and is now in a number of eastern and northern oblasts. Nursultan Nazarbayev gave an interview to a Kazakh radio correspondent on the airplane. He spoke about why he decided to take part in the pre-election battle despite the fact that in everyone's opinion he is the most popular figure in the republic. In his opinion it is necessary to do this since the president needs to have national recognition. We will now let you listen to a tape, a recording of the conversation. We apologize beforehand for the poor quality. don't forget that the tape was made in the airplane. Switch it on, please.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] How do you intend to reform and reorganize the economy?

[Nazarbayev] The answer to this question follows from the positions we have adopted and from the laws which our parliament has adopted. The point is that we now need to make the transition to the market economy, in a decisive manner. The law on privatization and destatization has already been adopted. A program for the privatization of small enterprises has been approved and we must move forward decisively. Therefore, in accordance with the treaty on economic community, we must begin a normal and decisive transition to a market economy.

[Correspondent] Tell me, do you intend to change the governmental structure?

[Nazarbayev] I have been speaking everywhere in my pre-election addresses about the fact that we need a strong executive power for the transition to a market economy. This does not mean we will encroach on existing democracy and glasnost. On the contrary, it is a matter of supporting all of the political movements and parties which, in our multi-ethnic republic, will come out in favor of the consolidation of our society and unite everyone in the difficult period of transition to the market economy. Therefore, the people supports, first and foremost the strengthening of executive power from above to below, the strengthening of discipline and the decisive battle against crime.

[Correspondent] Does this not mean that our popular leader is intending to take unpopular measures?

[Nazarbayev] Undoubtedly, the transition to the market itself and those difficulties which await the people will force the leader of the republic—in the interests of the society and in the interests of the Kazakhstan people—not to mark time, not to be vague and to expect to move to decisive actions. In the early days, measures which are unpopular with the population will naturally need to be adopted. I want the people of Kazakhstan to understand—I am speaking quite openly to everyone—that we need to live through it patiently, to endure this transition stage.

[Correspondent] Tell me, how will relations with the center be built?

[Nazarbayev] The center will be defined by the nature of the union which we will create in the future. In accordance with our latest State Council session and its decision, we have embarked upon the creation of a union of sovereign states. The speed with which we will move toward the creation of such a union needs to be determined.

[Correspondent] Well, at least we are not being promised the impossible, but a path is being proposed which might lead us toward civilization. How long will we need to cross it? In the opinion of presidential candidate Nazarbayev, around 18 months. Well, let us wait and see. [end recording]

Tajikistan

Presidential Election Held; Nabiyev Elected

Observers Monitor Election

LD2411082991 Moscow TASS in English 0733 GMT 24 Nov 91

[By TAJIKTA-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe November 24 TASS—In Tajikistan, people go to the polls today to elect president of the republic.

Eight candidates, registered by the Central Electoral Commission, contend for the top state post of the sovereign republic.

Tajik and foreign political scientists believe that Rahmon Nabiyev, who suspended his activity as the republican parliament chairman for the period of the election compaign, and Davlat Khudonazarov, chairman of the USSR Cinema Workers' Union and representative of the democratic opposition, stand the best chances to be elected to the post.

The polling is being monitored by independent observers, by representatives of the parliaments of Russia, the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and other sovereign republics and foreign countries.

'Active Participation' Noted

LD2511104991 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0005 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] For the first time in our republic a nationwide election for the president of Tajikistan was held yesterday. Residents from the republic's towns and villages arrived early in the morning to constituencies and polling booths to vote for the candidate of their choice.

Esteemed listeners: Last night we contacted the press center of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan. Here is a telephone conversation we held with Abdujabbar Aliyev, head of the press center:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Could you please tell us how the first election for the president of Tajikistan was conducted?

[Aliyev] The first election for the president in our [word indistinct] Tajikistan was held in a calm and satisfactory manner. From the information available to us, by 1800 a total of 80.7 percent of the population had taken part in the election. This indicates active participation by the population in the election. Figures from oblasts up to 1800 are very high: Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast—98.2 percent, Kulyab Oblast— (?79.3) percent, Kurgan-Tyube Oblast—77.9 percent, and Leninabad Oblast—90.9 percent. In Dushanbe City, 61.1 percent of the population participated in the voting. We are now waiting for the latest information, which we should have by 2000. Unfortunately, we cannot yet provide your radio listeners with this information. We hope to provide information on the participation of citizens and the total number taking part in later bulletins.

[Reporter] Thank you, Comrade Aliyev. I would like to ask you another question. Have there been any incidences of lawbreaking in polling constituencies and districts?

[Aliyev] It is 2100 now, and so far we have not received any information on lawbreaking in any polling districts. I hope there is no lawbreaking.

[Reporter] Thank you. [end recording]

Nabiyev Elected President

LD2511120191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] From Dushanbe it is reported that Rakhmon Nabiyev, 61, chairman of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet, has been elected president of the republic. Nationwide elections were held on 24 November. According to preliminary data from the republic's Central Electoral Commission, 58 percent voted for Nabiyev out of a turnout of 84.6 percent. Davlat Khudonazarov, 47, chairman of the USSR Union of Cinematographers and a USSR people's deputy for Tajikistan, nominated for the presidency by the Democratic Opposition bloc, won just over one-quarter of the votes. The remaining five candidates received between half and 1 percent of the votes.

Afghan Opposition Tries To Recruit 'Militants'

OW2211221391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2059 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Afghan opposition is reported to be trying to recruit militants in Tajikistan to fight the present government and liberate the republic from the "infidels." The chief of the KGB security police department for the Kurgan-Tube region, Murod Shoymov, has told IF [INTERFAX] that none of the leaders of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan connected with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar recruited a Soviet citizen, who was expected to form groups of militants and arrange for the transportation of weapons, ammunition, propaganda materials and narcotics.

Hovever, the KGB official said that the Afghan rebels chose a wrong person. The Afghan agent was detained.

Uzbekistan

Cabinet Adopts Decree on Hard Currency, Trade

LD2411135791 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0300 GMT 24 Nov 91

[Text] The Cabinet of Ministers under the president of the Republic of Uzbekistan adopted a decree on measures for the free purchase and sales of [word indistinct] hard currency and for expanding trade with the free [word indistinct] hard currency. Assistance to the rapidlly increasing population of the republic is taken into account in the decree. The speedy expansion of foreign economic activity, increasing its effectiveness, the free purchase of [word indistinct] hard currency in rubles, and increasing the formation of currency exchange points throughout the republic are taken into account in this decree.

By 1 December 1991, the State Bank of the Republic of Uzbekistan has been instructed to establish centers for the purchase and sales of [word indistinct] hard currency in rubles. With the assistance of the Finance Ministry, the Uzbek State Bank and the (?national) foreign economic banks will prepare conditions by 1 December 1991 for the purchase and sales of hard currency at hard currency centers and special exchanges. By 1 January 1992, measures for the formation of a hard currency exchange in the republic will be proposed to the national bank for foreign economic activity of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Within one week, for the territory of Uzbekistan, the Uzbek state economic committee, the Uzbek state bank, and other [words indistinct] have been instructed to formulate draft rules for the sales of consumer goods in [word indistinct] hard currency.